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Art I.—THE DOCTRINES AND DISCIPLINE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The Book of Discipline is regarded by many with a respect akin to the reverence felt for the Holy Scriptures. In those pioneer days when the itinerant's portable library always contained the Bible, the Hymn Book, and the Discipline, this reverence was begotten. It does, indeed, represent and regulate more vitality than any other ecclesiastical book in America. It is the guide and final appeal of ten thousand pastors and Quarterly Conferences, and of all the District and Annual Conferences, and of a million and a half of members. The Discipline of the Church, South, is also essentially identical with it.

Americans, more than any other people, are governed by written constitutions and statutes. The Methodist Episcopal Church, more than any other Church, has adopted this American practice. Government by written constitutions has some serious disadvantages. It is hampered by the "letter," which sometimes "killeth;" and strict constructionists idolatrously worship forms of speech which were adopted by men who may have been inferior to their successors in ability, as they must have been younger in experience of history, and who could not have anticipated all the effects of their own enactments. Where the written constitution is absent, or is unimportant, as in the British Government, and also in the English Wesleyan ecclesiastical government, conservatives are inclined to wor-

ship precedent. But any government may, if the exigency seems to justify it, make a new precedent. To override a written compact is not so easy; still, all are familiar with the apothegm of the British judge about a four-horse chariot and an act of Parliament.

The Methodist Discipline has been much changed. Parts of it are utterly unlike the first forms. A new edition is published quadrennially, embracing the amendments made by the latest General Conference. We assume that our readers are aware that there is a small part of the Discipline over which the General Conference has no power. To change these parts would be a revolution. They cannot alter, subtract from, or add to the twenty-five Articles of Religion. It is singular that, notwithstanding this explicit provision, efforts have been made to revise the creed. The excellent report of the Bishops on a revised creed that had been submitted to them for examination, made at the General Conference of 1876, has probably finally settled the impossibility of such action.* Another part of the constitution that, by implication, cannot be changed without a revolution, is the very provision that limits the power of the General Conference. If that could be nullified by a majority vote all the restrictions would be useless.

It is, however, worthy of our inquiry, whether Americans are not liable to become idolaters of "constitutions." No other peoples, ancient or modern, seem to have found it so necessary for one generation to hamper all succeeding generations by specifying just how much their successors shall or shall not do. What could possibly give the less than a hundred young ministers who first adopted the Discipline prescience and wisdom enough to set limits to the power of all their successors, to the latest generations? It is not to be wondered at that "constitutions," when they conflict with what seems right and prudent, are compelled to yield—for every generation must assume its own responsibilities and bear its own burdens. We should educate our successors so that they may be trusted. Still, it is doubtful whether the Methodist Episcopal Church will ever find it needful to modify its Articles of Religion. They are, indeed, the product of the thought and controversies of other times. They are fragmentary and incomplete. They speak with

* General Conference Journal, 1876, p. 206.

great distinctness on subjects that are not now discussed, and omit some of the most fundamental questions on doctrines of religion. As a creed, they fail to represent the belief of Methodists, and exert but little influence. They ought to be amended, but the letter of the "constitution" forbids—a clear instance of bondage to a form of words.

Yet no Church maintains a greater uniformity of belief, especially among the ministers, than the Methodist Churches, probably by the itineraney of the preachers, which naturally represses all eccentricity that will interfere with the general acceptability of a pastor.

All other parts of the Discipline except the Articles of Religion can be changed, some few rules requiring the concurrence of three fourths of the members of the General Conference present and voting, and two thirds of the members of the Annual Conferences present and voting—all the rest requiring only a simple majority vote of the General Conference. The natural consequence is, that every General Conference finds itself beset at its opening by a flood of propositions to alter the letter of the Discipline in different parts, which are usually referred in due form to committees early in the session, whence it appears at first as though the entire book would be so transformed that neither friend nor foe would be able to recognize anything in the new issue but the title; and, indeed, it has been gravely proposed to change that. A majority of these propositions are disapproved in the committee room; others, reported upon favorably, are never acted upon by the General Conference; others are rejected, and a residue are discussed, modified, and adopted; and the consequence is that many of the substantial features of the Discipline as it was in 1780 remain the same in the last edition of 1876. Yet there have been many amendments, and many additions, and some abolishments. The book is far better, both in letter and character, and as an embodiment of ecclesiastical law and experience, than ever before. To declaim against all changes in the letter and arrangement of the Discipline is sentimental. It shows a lack of moral courage. Every thing alive must accommodate itself to actual facts and demands. All who have the constitutional right to vote, directly or indirectly, for an improvement of the Discipline, have a right to advocate the improvement, and advice

even from others should not be spurned. We propose in this article, published about midway between the sessions of two General Conferences, when the Church may be supposed to have the least possible feverish interest in the subject, to recommend some improvements in our present Discipline.

We premise that no committee of a General Conference should fail to report as early as possible to the General Conference its opinion on any proposition referred to it. A committee has no right to stifle any subject committed to it. Let a timely report be made, and let the whole General Conference act upon it. Again, the practice that has prevailed in our General Conferences, of loading the table with reports and propositions of various kinds, and then at about the beginning of the fifth week appointing the Bishops, or the Bishops and the Chairmen of the Standing Committees, to decide what business shall come before the Conference, and what shall be rejected without discussion, is unbecoming the dignity of such a body. A committee has the right to claim that the General Conference should in all cases clear the table, even if it should require six months to do it. They might fix a day, say the twentieth day of the session, after which no new business should be introduced without the consent of three fourths, which should be tested without debate; and also fix a day previous to which all committees should make their final report; but then they should quietly sit and dispose of every proposition before them. Such a course only is worthy the dignity and responsibility of such a body.

Changes may be sought in the Discipline, either to improve the literature and character of the book, or actually to improve the economy of the Church. We propose to consider these two classes of changes.

The literary style of the Discipline had, at first, some remarkably good characteristics, and also some eccentricities that should not be perpetuated. John Wesley, in the beginning of his wonderful work, used to hold what he called "Conversations between Mr. John and Charles Wesley, and others," the published minutes of which were the first written bond of union of the few "people called Methodists." These "conversations" were universally drawn up in the form of question and answers, "Q." personating the inquirer, and "A." the

final authority. There is no hint that the Conference ever formally voted. Every thing was in the uniform tread of Q. and A. Annually a catechism of this kind was published from 1765 to the death of Mr. Wesley, in which appears much matter of only a local and temporary interest. Now, it so happened when the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in this country, and the first edition of our Discipline was published, this system of question and answer was adopted, and very much matter that at best was of only temporal value was inserted in the text. Mr. Wesley published no pastoral addresses. Every thing that he wished to say, however insignificant, that was yet deemed worthy to go into "Annual Minutes," was printed; and when our Discipline came to be made up much of this matter was inserted, without due regard to its permanent application to a people three thousand miles away. When the English Wesleyans came to publish a book entitled "The Sunday Service of the Methodists, with other Occasional Services," they wisely omitted all such matter, and their Annual Minutes of the present day omit all the temporary pastoral advice given a hundred years ago by John Wesley, much of which is retained in our Discipline. The parts of the Discipline to which this remark applies are particularly paragraphs 115–129 inclusive; 135–143 inclusive. We do not undervalue the genuine piety inculcated in these words of advice, but our criticism is that they are not suited to be a stereotyped description of what Methodists need, and when thus stereotyped they soon become obsolete and worthless. They partake of the nature of cant. Mr. Wesley wrote them for the time, and used to vary his exhortations. We would much prefer to have our Discipline free from such exhortations, and that each General Conference should appoint a committee to write a full discriminating Pastoral Address, which, indeed, with great propriety, might be printed in the Appendix of the Discipline—a special address for every edition. The absurdity of one of the directions in paragraph 124 is evident: "We recommend a serious perusal of 'The Cause, Evils, and Cures of Heart and Church Divisions.'" Not a hundred ministers out of our ten thousand ever saw the tract. Mr. Wesley's Minutes abounded in similar minute directions, which he struck out from following editions. For instance: from 1772

to 1808, every edition of the Annual Minutes had these strange questions and answers:—

Q. How far does each of you agree to submit to the judgment of the majority?

A. In speculative things each can only submit so far as his judgment shall be convinced. In every practical point each will submit so far as he can without wounding his conscience.

Q. Can a Christian submit further than this to any man or body of men upon earth?

A. It is undeniable; he cannot, either to council, bishop, or convocation. And this is that grand principle of private judgment on which all the reformers proceeded.

In this is seen Mr. Wesley's liberality, so much in advance of his age, and this stood in the Minutes thirty-six years. It certainly deserves a place in our Discipline far more than the sections above referred to. Yet we would have no such, or similar, advice in the book. In the Minutes from 1780 to 1789 was found the following: "Avoid quaint words, however in fashion, as 'object,' 'originate,' 'very,' 'high,' etc." In that we see the delicacy of taste of the refined and conservative scholar. All the words he "objected" to are now "very" common, and Methodist preachers use them without rebuke. In 1789 he had the good sense to omit this direction; but the same year he introduced this advice to his ministers: "Wear no slouched hat!" Perhaps it might be well to reintroduce that. How should we like to see the following in the Discipline, from Mr. Wesley's Minutes of 1780? "After preaching take a little lemonade, mild ale, or candied orange-peel. All spirituous liquors, at that time especially, are deadly poisons." Occasionally the Wesleyans for some years introduced similar directions in their Annual Minutes. As, for instance, in the Minutes for 1800 we find, "We think some of our hearers are in danger of mistaking emotions of the affections for experimental and practical godliness. To remedy or prevent as far as possible these errors, let Mr. Wesley's extract of Mr. Edwards' pamphlet on the Religious Affections be printed without delay, and circulated among our people." But we need not multiply instances. A stereotyped book, like our Discipline, is no place for such counsel, as though given to a whole Church, and applicable to all time. Mr. Wesley is far more honored by having them omitted than by having them con-

tinually repeated without producing any good effect. We think, also, that the old chapter on Slavery, paragraph 36, is obsolete. It is no more needed than a chapter on idolatry or cannibalism. It dignifies the dead carcass of slavery too much to retain this chapter. There are a great many associations, pleasant and otherwise, connected with it, but a book of doctrines and discipline is not to be maintained for associations, but for use and dignity. The obliteration of the chapter would be an improvement. The "rules relating to marriage," paragraphs 41–44, are entirely neglected. We either need less or more on that subject. It would be much better to do as our Wesleyan brethren do, leave all such matters to the Annual Minutes, or to the quadrennial pastoral addresses. Can any one give a good reason for that little remnant of a chapter on "Dress," now found in paragraph 49? "This is no time to encourage superfluity in dress." Why not, at this time as well as any other? When was there, or when will there be, "a time" to do it? Who does not see that this was a temporary note of Mr. Wesley, never designed for a permanent statute? Had he been called upon to frame a law for a century and for all nations he would have expressed better thought in a more suitable style. As a permanent part of the Discipline it is simply nonsense. It is always well to bury the dead. Our quadrennial pastoral addresses should not be unmeaning generalities, prefaced and ended by the hackneyed quotations from an apostolic epistle, but a true vital discriminating setting forth of present wants and duties. Let us have a brief valuable pastoral address in every edition of the Discipline.

The committee on revisals of 1872 greatly improved the mechanical form of the Discipline, and would have done much more had their full report been allowed to come before the Conference. At this time the formal "questions" disappeared and the answers alone remained, and the order of the matter was greatly modified.

So far we have spoken on the mere form of the Book, but now we approach a much more difficult subject, and one that well deserves all the space that can be afforded to our article—the changes demanded in the actual economy of the Church, to be introduced by slight changes in the phraseology of the Discipline. The modifications proposed with the most

definiteness relate to the Episcopacy, the Presiding Eldership, and the abolishment of the limitation of the preachers' service to three successive years in any one appointment, till after the lapse of three more years.

Some have expressed the thought that our system of government would be improved if our Bishops were elected for four years, perhaps eligible to one re-election. They say this would complete the analogy of our system. We have no other life-offices. Our Bishops are really elders appointed for specific work; let all temptations to the adoption of any other theory be removed. If there is any foolish tendency to ecclesiastical pride and servility, let it be checked early in our history.

These arguments are not unworthy of notice, and it should never be forgotten that the Church has this matter under its own control. The General Conference is supreme, and should the Episcopacy ever become unpopular or unprofitable such propositions would be earnestly agitated. The great branches of Methodism have different methods of securing what all believe to be essential to its spirit, a warm evangelicalism or earnest experimental piety, a striking uniformity of religious belief, and the itinerancy of the ministry. Lose either of these, and Methodism is so transformed as to deserve a new name. The British Wesleyans secure these by what may be called a select or aristocratic Annual Conference, representing the whole body, having its one annual president or bishop. This select Conference, embracing now a body of lay advisers and co-operators, has all ultimate power, and controls the various subordinate organizations. The greater part of the ministers are never members of any Conference above a District Conference. It would be positively impossible to introduce any thing like this in America. Such a system must grow, and will not bear transplanting. In Canada a system has been adopted about midway between the British and American. They have Annual Conferences embracing all the ministers—not, as in England, a select few—a delegated General Conference meeting once in four years, and a president who is practically superintendent, or bishop, for four years.

The Methodist Episcopal Church claims to be the best representation of John Wesley's maturest thoughts on Church organization. His advice was not slavishly followed, but it

had great influence, and the first Discipline undoubtedly received his approval. The superintendents or bishops are not a reproduction of the bishops of the early, or medieval, or the English Church. They have scarcely any thing in common with them but the name. They are the perpetual presidents of the General Conferences and the Annual Conferences, with the usual duty of presidents, temporarily to decide questions of order and law; empowered to determine the number of the districts in the Annual Conferences, and to appoint elders to the charge of them, and to appoint the remaining elders and preachers—with a few exceptions—to their fields of labor; in the intervals of the Annual Conferences to change, receive, and suspend preachers, according to disciplinary directions; to exercise a general and undefined supervision; and to ordain such as are designated for the purpose by the Annual Conferences. Besides these, other duties may or may not be imposed upon them. Every one can see that the chief function and demand of their office is to maintain the regularity of the meetings of the Annual Conferences, and the annual appointments of all the preachers, observing the restrictions and rules which they do not make and cannot modify, but are charged to execute. Men to perform this office will need no undefined and indefinable halo, such as the unthinking may suppose to be connected with a fabulous apostolic succession. They are elders, selected to perform a peculiar and responsible work. The Church will naturally choose for this office men of mature years and judgment, of unquestioned integrity and piety, and of good general ability, and of not too pronounced peculiarity. Eccentricity would be deemed objectionable.

If the office should become practically a sinecure, or too great a temptation to ambition, or in any way fail to promote the zeal and self-denial and piety and success of the ministry and the welfare of the people, the Church can modify it so as to reach the designed purpose. The power of the Episcopacy is, therefore, just what it ought to be, chiefly *moral*. It has great influence because it deserves it, because its incumbents are modest and earnest, and working, like the rest of the ministry, for the salvation of men.

The most of the propositions to modify the Episcopacy exhibit this fatal weakness—the lack of justifying occasion.

They are urged on theoretical grounds. Indeed, no modifications have ever been seriously proposed, except to limit their power by taking away the responsibility of determining how many presiding elders there should be, and of appointing the incumbents, and to restrict still further the appointments of the preachers. Besides these propositions, it has been suggested that the bishops be elected for four years, eligible to a re-election. The propositions that affect the presiding eldership and the stationing of the preachers will be best considered elsewhere. It has also been proposed to district the entire territory of the Church, so as to assign to each bishop for four years a certain definite field specially to supervise, in addition to his share in a certain residue of general interests. It is urged in behalf of a limited term of service for the bishops that it would be in better analogy with all the other offices under control of the General Conference, such as the editors and corresponding secretaries, and also with the office of presiding elder. Judging from what has been done in Canada and elsewhere, it is very likely that if it were left to the Church practically to decide the question *de novo*, many would prefer a presidency of a limited time. The temptations to forget the well established theory of the Church on ordination would be less; the certainty of securing the highest efficiency in the presiding officers would be greater; the retiring incumbents would be superannuated preachers, not superannuated presidents or bishops; and the avowed simplicity of the Church theory on the subject would be maintained. Nor do we think that the frequency of elections in the General Conference could sensibly add to any unhealthy excitement on the subject. The proper way to diminish that is to make the offices desirable chiefly for increased usefulness.

But changes are seldom made from mere theoretical considerations. Practically, our bishops are men of mature experience, who find after obtaining their office no field of ambition open before them but simply to perform their duties in the most efficient way possible. Their office is easily understood, abundant in labor, and furnishing simply a comfortable support; and all the traditions of the past and incentives of the present combine to demand vigilance and faithfulness and impartiality. The law-making authorities of the Church

will, therefore, not be likely to disturb the tenure of office; and all the less so since the General Conference consists so largely of laymen—for the laity are constitutionally little concerned about questions of priority or gradation in the ministry.

In behalf of districting the work of the bishops, many strong reasons may be urged. It would concentrate and greatly increase the influence of the bishop in his own district. He could easily make himself powerfully felt in the course of four years throughout one tenth or fifteenth of the Church. He could, in addition to presiding at the Annual Conferences, preside at many of the District Conferences, and become personally acquainted with the schools, the Churches, and all the leading Church enterprises of his district. It would be a saving of expense of money and of time, now consumed in travel. It would more uniformly distribute the labor of the bishops, substituting individual responsibility for a kind of communism, which always inures to the advantage of the weak and discourages the strong.

The tendency of advancement is universally toward division of labor and responsibility. Once the circuit system prevailed, and the influence of a pastor was spread over many societies. Human nature is too strong for this system, except where the societies are too weak to resist it. So, it is urged, the universality of the field of the episcopal labor must yield to make the influence of the bishop more palpable and valuable.

To all this it is objected, first, that it would "violate the constitution!" They shall not "destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." And, forsooth, are those few words, adopted by a hundred men, a hundred years ago, to bind the judgment of all their successors in all time, so that nothing whatsoever can be done which the greatest human ingenuity may pronounce a violation of this phrase? Such general words must have a general interpretation, or the iron bar will break. "A general superintendency" is maintained, though every general superintendent is not required to visit every spot in the vast domain of the Church once every month, or once even in any decade of years. It is not proposed that a permanent diocese be erected for each bishop. This would violate the principle of general superintendency. Our preachers are itinerant, and our presiding elders and our bishops should be

itinerant. They should change their districts, as others change their fields of labor, to make the itinerancy perfect. But this does not prevent each one from having a particular field under his charge for a limited time. It is objected, secondly, that this system would interfere with the proper visitation of our foreign missionary fields. But certainly there ought to be sufficient constructive and legislative power in a General Conference to provide for this exigency. Perhaps one bishop might spend the whole of a quadrennium in this work, and do it with more efficiency and less expense than in the present system.

The time is not far distant when some important problems will grow out of this foreign missionary work. "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America" cannot well cover and manage the interests of all who ought to be Methodists in all the world. It is to be hoped that there will be magnanimity and true Christianity enough ere long, in the different Methodist bodies which support missions, to encourage all their mission societies in some of the larger nations to unite in one Church, which shall be allowed to form its own government according to the views of the majority. This would not imply the cessation or diminution of the missionary contributions, so long as they are needed. A sentiment that should confine missionary aid to absolute denominational attachments is narrow and unchristian. A desire to have one gigantic Church, rather than a fraternity of Churches, is Hildebrandic rather than Christian. Let the nineteenth century show a principle and wisdom nobler than the thirteenth. What we most need in all our body, bishops, preachers, and members, is not a longing after power and pomp and parade, but after the salvation of souls.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has a providential and efficient system of government. Its Episcopacy is one of its noblest elements. But, like all the rest, it is undoubtedly subject to changes. Nothing truly efficient is inelastic and unimprovable. We do not believe that any changes proposed to diminish its influences should be favored, and unless the adoption of the district system would insure its efficiency it should not be made.

The presiding eldership is the next peculiar feature that some propose to modify. Like almost all truly valuable insti-

tutions, the presiding eldership had an obscure origin, the legislation rather following than providing for its changes till it had assumed a definite form. It may gratify curiosity, but it really should have little weight on subsequent legislation, to ascertain just what authority the first presiding elders had in those days of feebleness when the Methodist Episcopal Church was assuming form. In experience the fathers were children, and the present generation are the fathers. In piety we are willing to accord to the natural fathers the front rank, but we will not reproach them with the charge of having weakened their own Church organization, or with having raised up a generation that has done it. For this reason we feel but a slight interest in the discussions of the early or even later history of the origin and proposed changes of the presiding eldership. It is, indeed, true that during the first decade of the history of the Church animated discussions took place on the question. For this many reasons can be given. The Church was then assuming its character. Discussions were necessarily mostly theoretical. Politicians, both civil and ecclesiastical, naturally take great interest in such themes, especially in the absence of more practical matters. The great enterprises now embodied in the Missionary, Church Extension, Sunday-School, Educational, Tract, and Freedmen's Aid Societies, and others of the kind, were yet undeveloped. Mere Church economy absorbed the most of the thoughts of legislators during the sessions of Conferences. In these discussions some of our most honored names are found successively for and against a change in the presiding eldership, though in all cases the final result was against any great modification of the plan reached in the first decade of the Church, and we do not recollect a single instance of a man starting in opposition to the change and ending in its favor. There are, however, several notable instances of the opposite. This is significant.

The first great secession of the Church, also, under the leadership of Rev. James O. Kelly, was the direct result of a determination to make the presiding elders elective by the ministers. The leaders of the party who set up for themselves are said to have been equal in talents to those who adhered to the Church. Some think they were superior as economists. They are not charged with deficiency in religion or zeal; they took with

them a sufficiently large part of the preachers and membership to try a fair experiment. The Church was young and the country young, and they had a fair field in which to test their methods; and yet now, after about eighty years of experiment, there is not a State, or a country, or a single city, in which they have succeeded so well as the mother Church. Truly this, too, is significant! Why should we harass our minds in the discussion of abstract theories about practical questions, when we have the inductive evidence of their value before our eyes?

The presiding eldership as it is, in our opinion, should be credited with having originated and maintained at least a third of our present societies. We regard it as the most efficient and most economical system of episcopal supervision and of home missionary work ever devised—the joint product of human skill and divine Providence—to co-operate with our Episcopacy in carrying out our itinerancy of the ministry, so as to secure the constant activity of the members and the constant supply of the Churches.

The living economy of the Church has adapted itself to this institution. It has become a part of our vitality. The presiding elders, it is true, seem theoretically invested with great power. Under their counsel, often greatly influenced by them, the presiding bishop theoretically assigns all the preachers of a Conference annually to their fields of labor. But who does not know the numerous limitations of this power, that cannot be recognized by legislation? Again, these presiding elders are no separate independent caste. The presiding elders receive their own appointments annually. No one can preside over one district more than four years, nor again over that district till after an interval of six years. If any Conference express a wish that no one shall serve in the office more than one term at a time, the wish, so far as is known, is always granted. It is not usually an office desirable for worldly ease or profit. The present system combines elasticity with order, allowing a presiding elder to be changed at any time during the session of the Conference, and even, in extraordinary instances, after the close of a session—an exigency which it would be practically impossible to provide for under any system of election. Again, the judicial economy of the Church is indissolubly connected with the present system. All the questions growing

out of complaints, trials and the result, and appeals, are so incorporated with the present system that a radical change of it would be almost equivalent to a dissolution of the itinerancy and an attempt to reconstruct it on a new model. There is really no valid reason why the preachers should elect the presiding elders, and assign them their fields of labor, any more than why they should assign each other their fields of labor.

For these reasons we are of opinion that from time to time, when the Church has no weightier business on hand, discussion of the presiding eldership will arise in the papers and Conferences, and the result will probably be, as heretofore, a determination to resist any considerable changes in the old system.

The proposal to abolish the law that forbids a preacher to remain in one pastoral charge more than three years, or his return till after the expiration of three years, or that he shall serve in the same charge more than three years in six, has never yet been warmly advocated in a General Conference, nor elicited a very formidable support. Still, there are some successful preachers and some enterprising laymen who doubt whether the Church really gains by the present law. Their arguments are as follows:—

1. The restriction seems to have been made originally without due consideration. At first some of the preachers were required to exchange their appointments at the end of six months, and when it was found that a few were likely to become permanent pastors the two years' rule was adopted, which has been extended to three years without inconvenience. Why not extend the term indefinitely?

2. Long pastorates have peculiar power. We envy other denominations their influence arising from a few Churches under the leadership of men of a marked personality. Our denomination is not wanting in such men, who, if they had opportunity, would reach similar results. Many of our ministers feel that they lose power by their frequent changes of pastoral charge.

3. Methodism is not as efficient in the cities as in the country. Some other denominations are more efficient in the city than in the country. Is not this attributable to the itinerancy?

4. Let us have freedom. Let our bishops, with the advice of the presiding elders, be clothed with unrestricted power. Let them have authority to change the pastoral charge of every preacher every year if they see fit; or let the authority of the bishops be restricted, so that they shall not change the pastoral charge of any minister unless he, or the Church, or both, ask for it. Here, of course, is room for much legislation, to define how a pastor or a Church may ask for a new appointment.

We have stated these arguments briefly but fairly, and more forcibly than we have seen them stated by any who seem to believe in their validity. But, notwithstanding the plausibility of these arguments, we cannot favor this change of the Discipline. It would infallibly destroy all itinerancy in less than twenty-five years. No denomination would submit to have a bishop, or a body of bishops, decide whether the preachers should change their appointments, and then settle them, *unguided by law.* On the other hand, if the Episcopacy is simply to appoint ministers who desire to move, over Churches that desire other pastors, it will sink into insignificance and perish.

There are two kinds of loyalty—loyalty to persons and loyalty to law. So there are two kinds of authority, the authority of persons and the authority of law. The former is bondage, the latter is freedom. In a State, absolute despotism is properly tempered by assassination, if the despot will not retire; in a Church, supreme personal authority is not to be thought of. The itinerancy, therefore, must not be under the control of the bishops. They are to execute, not to make, law. They should not even be allowed to make the occasion for the execution of the law. Removing the limitation of *law* would so increase the responsibility and power of the bishops that both they and the itinerancy would soon disappear together.

But if there is to be an itinerancy when and where individuals—either ministers only, or Churches, or both—shall choose, then the itinerancy is doomed. It would be too capricious to be tolerated. In such a case the bishop would be a mere umpire to aid undesirable pastors to find undesirable Churches.

But now look at the present facts, and see the beauty and majesty of impartial LAW, not merely submitted to, but cheerfully adopted and obeyed by all, for the universal good. The

whole denomination, for convenience, is divided into Conferences of about one hundred and twenty societies and preachers each. Transferences from one Conference to another are voluntary. As no preacher can remain more than three years at any appointment, usually about one fifth—never quite one third—*must* be changed. This is not decided by the bishop, but by the LAW. That precludes all argumentation. It precludes all personal tyranny. It is the system—it is not personal caprice—that decides this fact. Always a fair proportion of the ablest preachers and of the strongest Churches are among those that must change. These would not usually seek a change for personal reasons, but now yield to it because it is the law. If the minister is very popular, and the Church is entirely satisfied, so much the better, and so much more is the law honored. We would have it so always if we could. The ideal requires that every pastor and every Church should not desire a change for personal reasons. This makes the duty of the bishop respectable. He is not arranging places for malcontents. He is appointing popular preachers to desirable places. It will not do just to fill the vacancies with ministers who have served out their term; some have died; some have retired from active work; some new preachers are admitted. Some preachers who have not filled out all the time possible to them may be sent to some vacant Churches for mutual accommodation; this makes other vacancies; and thus the fact that a large number of preachers MUST go to new appointments renders the whole system respectable, and much more easily worked than it otherwise could be. We repeat, take away the legal, impersonal compulsion, and the system would speedily collapse.

The fact is, that the Methodists all over the world have grown into power under a regular inflexible itinerancy of the ministry, *required by law*, and regulated by the chosen executors of law. They prefer the system, with all its disadvantages, for its superior advantages. We say "with all its disadvantages," for every system implies limitations. We freely confess that the itinerancy has some disadvantages. So has every practical system, actual or conceivable. Congregationalism has some advantages over a connected Church, but actual trial proves, also, that it has many weaknesses. Perhaps an

itinerancy of the ministers would not be the best for the entire Church of Christ; but, be this as it may, if a century's history has proved any thing, it is that Methodists ought to adhere to it. One great body of Christians should maintain it. The more popular their ministers, and the more the Churches admire and love them at the end of their term of service, the more faithfully should all adhere to the law.

All the arguments urged in behalf of the repeal of this law are sufficiently answered by this one statement: The Methodists of this generation desire to maintain the character with which they started, and which has been strengthening for about one hundred and fifty years. Their pastors have always been itinerant from a general legal choice. We do not envy other denominations their beautiful long pastorates. We wonder they have so few, and if they are really efficient we hope they may have many more. We also have bishops and many itinerant pastors who have a reputation not confined to one locality, but in some cases almost cosmopolitan, in others national, in others embracing a Conference; and though "comparisons are odious," yet, if our system is attacked, we can show that by it the influence and power and usefulness of men of great mental power and spiritual worth is not diminished, but enhanced. We believe that as John Wesley and Bishop Asbury were respectively the most widely known and the most useful Christian teachers in their generation and in their two nations, so the system of itinerancy gives ample play for the greatest possible success. We will show man for man, according to our numbers, whom God has blessed with as great reputation and usefulness as any other men in any other branch of the Church of Christ.

Instead of asking why Methodism does not succeed as well in the cities as in the country, it might be well to ask why, beginning in a city, it has outstripped all others in the rural districts, and at the same time accomplished so much in the cities? What need is there of any more settled pastorates in the cities? Cannot the almost numberless denominations that have that system supply the demand, without calling upon the only people that have another system to help them? The cities as yet have more wickedness than the country. There are many who desire a Christian profession, who, nevertheless, do not admire the Methodist strictness or usages. But why

should we murmur at that? Can the cities of the United States afford to lose the Methodist Episcopal Church, even with its itinerant ministry? If any of our preachers or people prefer a settled ministry, can they not find it? With the most perfect good feeling, we say that Church connection ought not to be decided chiefly by heredity, but by a mature and sound judgment. If any desire a settled pastorate, by all means find one—but find it outside of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The true ideal of the Christian Church is unity of purpose, with a variety of organization; and the world does need one large vigorous denomination with an itinerant ministry.

Itinerancy tends to preserve orthodoxy, as heresy is far less profitable to an itinerant preacher than to one who can surround himself with a body of sympathizing heretics. It tends to industry; for every preacher is called upon to give an account of his stewardship annually, and is dependent for success largely upon a general as well as a local reputation, and cannot afford to be idle. It tends to connectional power, which Protestant Christendom much needs.

For these reasons we are willing to forego the advantages of a few permanent pastorates—how few, indeed!—and, while other denominations work their machinery, will endeavor to work ours, believing that it is the gift of Providence, and designed to be mighty in spreading "scriptural holiness over these lands."

The Methodist Episcopal Church is a vitality. It is an organization, not an aggregation. Organizations must fight constantly for existence. The lower laws of nature are against them, and the higher laws prevail only by resisting the lower. There is more discussion of ecclesiastical government in the Methodist newspapers of a single month than there would be in ten years if their government were simply congregational. But so long as an organization is successful and provides for the comfort and good of its individual constituents, it will be likely to enjoy an *esprit du corps*, and, though constantly losing from its number many who are not in harmony with it, will secure efficiency and growth. If the Methodist Episcopal Church, highly organized as it is, did not lose from its fold many both ministers and members, it would be a strong

symptom of degeneracy! This we say without even a latent reproach toward any who leave. On the other hand, in the great sisterhood of evangelical denominations men should seek the machinery by which they can gain and accomplish the most good. It is probable that the Methodist Episcopal Church in America since its origin has introduced to the Christian profession nearly, if not quite, as many, both members and ministers, who have gone into other folds, as those who have remained under its own banner. It might tone down its doctrine and usages so as to retain nearly all its converts, but in such a case it would have proportionally less to retain! Also, it has now reached a condition when it begins to receive as well as to give. Union with such an organization ought not to be merely a matter of heredity or of accident. Those who wish to fight on the water join the navy; those who wish to fight on the land join the army. Let those who wish to join and work a strong connectional Church with an itinerant ministry join the Methodists, and those who want what they call a "settled ministry" certainly can find several folds exactly suited to their demands.

In no one fact does the remarkable vitality of the Methodist Episcopal Church exhibit itself more than in the original independence of and dissimilarity to the civil government of the nation. Careful observers of history perceive that it is impossible for two great powers to affect a people at the same time without becoming similar in spirit and form. When the Roman empire, under Constantine, embraced Christianity, it was necessary for one or both to yield, so that they could embody the wishes of the same people. Both yielded almost equally. The empire gave up its pagan customs, and the Church gave up its republicanism. James Bruce, D. C. L., well says in his work on "The Holy Empire*:" "Since the ecclesiastical organization could not be identical with the civil, it became its counterpart. Suddenly called from danger and ignominy to the seat of power, and finding her inexperience perplexed by a sphere of actions vast and varied, the Church was compelled to frame herself upon the model of the secular administration."

The historian seems here, all unconscious of the fact, to be

* Published by Macmillan & Co., London, 1821.

uttering a broader truth. History never repeats itself in phenomena, but continually repeats itself in principle. It is practically impossible for a Church to flourish without conforming itself in its government to the usages of the people. The prevalent Roman Catholic usages are inharmonious with republican interests, and therefore in a republic the more intensely Roman Catholic a man is the less patriotic is he, and the contrary. If civilization engenders republics—and we certainly believe it does—then Roman Catholicism must become weak, or modify its usages. If all the evangelical Protestants in the United States should unite in one ecclesiastical organization—a thing not at all improbable for the twentieth century—the government of the combined body will be strikingly analogous with the contemporary government of the nation, whatever that may be.

Till within ten years the Methodist Church was governed by its ministers. Many of them seldom, if ever, voted in political elections; not one in a thousand of them had any political training, and the Church could develop with comparative independence of the State. Now every General Conference has a large number of trained politicians. We use the word in its honorable sense, and protest against the debasement of the term. All of these men have participated in American political duties, in town, city, State, or national legislative bodies. Some are or have been judges of various grades, and some executive officers. They are all not only familiar with the usages of a republic, but saturated with its spirit. Now, no man can be a republican in State, and a monarchist in Church. It is an inconceivable phenomenon—except as a *lusus naturæ*. And he is a very poor observer who does not see the effects of our civil training and character in the growing assimilation of our Church to our country. If any ask for evidence, we would refer them to the changes that have taken place in our forms of church trials, and to the reported systems of judicature recommended at the last General Conference.

Now, fortunately—perhaps, providentially—the government of the Methodist Episcopal Church has some general features strikingly similar to that of the American Republic. It is not Congregationalism. That is somewhat like what the secession-

ists would have desired had they been faithful to their principle of secession—a mere disunited agglomeration of States, counties, and townships, without federation, or so loosely federated as to have no general authority. To us it seems like liberty run mad. Presbyterianism is instinctively seeking an increase in its federative capacity, showing, what it has always manifested, a hearty sympathy with the American civil government. In America now the tide in State and Church is against secession, against disunion, against magnifying State rights, or the right of parts or sections, so as to make the great whole imbecile; and in favor of fraternity and of a strong government, exercised by men who shall be subject to law and strictly responsible. Our Church has a grand basis for the development of these principles. The nation is a wonderful system of wheels. A great three-rimmed wheel, legislative, judicial, executive, is the general Government; within that, about fifty smaller three-rimmed wheels, the States; within each of them, an indefinite number of solid-rimmed wheels, the counties; within each of these, several solid wheels, the townships—all moving by the same spirit and the same direction. It is the strongest government in the world, because the nature of the whole is in the germ—as of the oak or of the man—all its parts are homogeneous.

Similar is the complex unity of the Methodist Episcopal Church. First, if we look at the outside, we have the twelve, more or less, bishops, somewhat like the justices of the Supreme Court, elected for life, and invested with a well-defined and strictly limited judicial, executive, and supervisory authority. No ecclesiastical officers above these bishops or judges seem to be necessary. Below them come the Annual Conferences, which have much, and probably ought to have more, independent power, like the American States; below them, the District Conferences, like the counties; below them, the Quarterly Conferences—townships or cities. All these should be imbued with one spirit. All should act in harmony, and should have a homogeneous nature.

We should not press a theory into extremes simply for rhetorical effect. Things that grow are better than things that are made. But as these two institutions, each about one hundred years old, mature together, on the same soil, they must

naturally become more and more alike. The State is, and ought to be more, republican. But still, though republican in central idea, the civil government has many appointed officers, and maintains itself by authority, and according to law. The judges, members of the cabinet, officers of the army and navy, and many others, are appointed, and must obey. There is a judicious admixture of elections and appointments, and the principle of elections should be admitted only just far enough in theory to prevent the Government from becoming autocratic, or beyond the prompt reach of popular opinion. So, in the Church, all the officers ought not to be elective. The same combination of popular and responsible dependence and authority should be sought. If the Church government needs greater popularization, it is certainly in the elementary institutions, nearest to the primal source of authority. The stewards might, with propriety, be elected by the membership who had attained the proper age. Class-leaders might be nominated by the preacher in charge, and confirmed by the Quarterly Conference. The Annual Conference might safely be allowed to designate the number of presiding elders' districts, within certain assigned limits. Trustees might be prohibited from mortgaging church property without the consent of the membership, to be obtained by a process that would be sure to secure deliberation, and a thorough understanding of the subject. The eligibility of women to some of these offices, and the establishment of other offices for women, might, with propriety, be clearly defined in our fundamental law. All these things are not suggested for the purpose of "tinkering the Discipline," as those say who seem incapable of learning any thing or forgetting any thing—but to provide for increased vitality and usefulness.

To bring this about the General Conference ought to be relieved of a great part of its ceremonial and perfunctory work. The amount of time wasted in bandying compliments and getting its business sifted and put into shape, is enormous; while the attention given to earnest deliberation is far too small. We have endeavored thus plainly to steer between the stupidity of conservatism and the noisy immaturity of radicalism, and to show that, while the great essential pillars of our Church economy are right, many of the smaller attach-

ments need great changes. This, if it is a fact, is gratifying, for it indicates at the same time both safety and prosperity. What needs many changes is not worth saving: what needs no changes is dead.

Art. II.—MYSTICISM.

Never was there an age when what is true in Mysticism needed emphatic assertion more than it does to-day. The general drift of thought is antagonistic to the spiritual and the eternal. Science, and by this word is generally understood the material and economic province, absorbs in itself all thought and investigation, and thus proves a very Minotaur, consuming numberless noble souls. It seems taken for granted that there is no science of the spiritual, that philosophy is a delusion, and that religion, to say the best of it, is a weakness of noble minds.

If, then, all the work of philosophy in the past is not utterly valueless—if it is not a mere search after truth, and vain besides—if its march through the ages has not left behind it a Golgotha—if religion is not the invention of man—if its varied forms are not equally valueless and equally misleading—if, finally, God is not an empty dream of humanity—then it behooves us to set forth spiritual truth with the same persistent reiteration which they employ who behold in matter the beginning and the end of all research and of all science.

On the other hand, we may assert that the term science cannot be monopolized by physical research, or limited to results reached by alembic and microscope, or circumscribed by the domain of matter. There is a science of the invisible as well as of the visible, just as reliable, and, in its way, equally thorough. In truth, there is a science of faith, one, as Van Oosterzee declares, "of which the life of faith forms the source and root, or, if you will, the principle and starting-point." Still further he says, "The true Christian can come, by the way of a living faith in Christ, to a knowledge and certainty of God and divine things, which is, in its nature, second to no other." All knowledge ends in mystery, physical science like every other; and the advantage of a spiritual philosophy is, that it

carries up the loose threads of ultimate physical science into the hand of God, and thus gives an adequate solution of all these mysteries. Every branch of physical science comes to this *ultima Thule*, as Ulrici has so admirably shown in his "*Gott und die Natur*," and thus places in our hands the proof of the divine.

The spiritual world, then, is existent as really as the material, and has its laws, as inflexible as those which determine the motions of the heavenly bodies. In like manner, we must insist that religion has its *raison d'etre* as much as any other constant phenomenon of human history. The shallow view of the deistic period of the last century, which declared religion and the Church to be the work of priestcraft, is held no longer by those who have followed the course of philosophic thought.

Schleiermacher, in his matchless way, and the philosophers of Germany, have showed the world that religion, the State, and art are powers that be, and are "ordained of God." Even Comte provided for the religious nature of man. Feuerbach apotheosized humanity, and Fiske, in the wake of Strauss, makes an exposition of the religious sentiment, and chants "Nearer, my God, to thee," as a hymn of obedience to Cosmic Law.

The term Mysticism, it must be admitted, is in bad repute. Mystic is one of those vague epithets of reproach which men hurl at those they disapprove, while yet attaching no very definite meaning to the same. It has an evil sense as well as a good one, and, it must be confessed, the evil association is often most prominent to the mind when the term is used. The Germans have two terms applicable to the general subject, Mystik, expressive of approval, and Mysticismus, of disapproval. It would avoid much confusion if we had in the English language terms thus related and yet expressive of widely different phenomena. Since this is not the case, we must be content to speak of a true and a false Mysticism. Sack, in his "*Christliche Polemik*," makes the distinction just spoken of; for while Mysticismus is one form of separatism, Mystik he declares to be profoundly Christian. So, more definitely still, Nitzsch declares in his "System of Christian Doctrine," "that the religious man, the man of faith, is, as such, a Mystic, for he in whose consciousness God does not appear certainly does not feel God, nor can he know or honor him; but he who only

thinks him, without loving him and becoming pure in heart, cannot know him vitally; much less can he behold him spiritually who desires to see him with the outward sense. The inner life of religion is ever Mysticism."

In exact accordance, then, with these views, we hold most emphatically that a true Mysticism is a normal and a sublime form of human thought and feeling; that it is a nobler and a truer development than that level common sense so much extolled; that it gives free play to that sense of mystery which we cannot escape if we would; that it is grounded in a profounder philosophy even than those can offer who assume to scout it. Still more, a true Mysticism alone can satisfy the religious nature of man, and place him *en rapport* with things invisible and eternal. Religion deals with those verities which, though unseen, are the most real of all, and which are apprehended most completely by the true Mystic. The Scriptures are full of these mystical elements, for even Paul, the logician, constantly deals in them. But John is the true Mystic above all, the normal type of the profoundest religious thought and experience. The eagle is his symbol, soaring toward the sun of truth, in the words of the medieval hymn:

"Quo nec vates nec propheta
Evolavit altius."

Let us ask, in the first place, what is the objective point of Mysticism—what is the goal of the Mystic's search?

First and always it is God. It seeks to gain access to the divine in the most direct way. It yearns after communion with him who is the ground of all being, and the source of all life. Erdmann, the philosopher of Halle, classifies the Mystics as speculative, practical, and theosophic. But the determinant attribute of Mysticism after all is practical, and it is this life-interest which is the center of the whole. The speculative form, of which he makes Eckhart a representative, is equally practical; but, in addition, this form seeks to vindicate itself at the bar of reason. It desires to show that communion with God is the demand of the intellect, as well as of the heart. Ruysbroek, whom he presents as a representative of the practical form of Mysticism, is no more so really than Suso and Tauler, whom he locates in the first division. So the theosophic Mys-

tic, as he makes Bœhme to be, is fundamentally and of set purpose practical; but his form of statement is over-loaded with physical, and even alchemistic, modes of expression.

In every form, then, and in every age, Mysticism has been a search after God, or an attempt to frame what Bernard called an "itinerary of the soul to God." The same thing has been claimed for philosophy, but it cannot be asserted in the same sense. Philosophy, it is true, seeks to answer the great questions of freedom, immortality, and God; but Mysticism aims in its sublime flight directly and always at the divine. Even in its perverted forms the same assertion holds good. In the ecstasy of Plotinus and the intellectual intuition of Schelling, in the pantheistic reveries of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and the scarcely less definite pantheism of Fichte's "Way to the Blessed Life," we trace the irrepressible instinct that leads the human soul up to its source.

Mysticism has ever been a reaction from formalism and dogmatism in religion. When Christian men have been reliant upon the letter, the Mystic has always exalted the Spirit. When the Church has been content with mere dogmatic statement and intellectual orthodoxy, the Mystic revival has come, to rehabilitate its spiritual life and send new streams of power along its arid channels.

Especially was this true in the Middle Ages. The Gothic cathedral of scholasticism rose in proportion and grace as the centuries passed away; its pinnacles and spires caught the sunlight far up in air, and we look upon the edifice with wonder to-day. But the windows were darkened, the clear-story had no openings toward heaven, and the altars lacked incense. Then came Mysticism with its immediacy, its inward light, and its ecstatic experiences. Faith was exalted above reason, experience above theology, vision above logic, and, in general, life above theory. Instead of the cathedral became the conventicle, without furniture and without adornment; but it was open to the sky, and crowded with worshipers in spirit and in truth. Like all reactions, it was excessive, and often destructive; but, on the whole, far more healthful in its excess of life than the stagnation which preceded it.

In fact, there were times preceding the Reformation when the true Church was with the Mystics, rather than with the

proud hierarchy which ever thrust the priest between the individual soul and Christ. Certainly, as Ullmann has so well shown, they were the reformers before the Reformation. Over against the objectivity of scholasticism they emphasized subjectivity; over against the priesthood they exalted the rights of the individual believer; over against the *opus operatum* they pointed to the ideal significance of the rites of the Church: in fine, they were the exponents of internalism, individuality, and liberty. They accomplished by internal development what the Reformation did by revolutionary acts.

Again, a hundred years after Luther, a new dogmatism began to reign in the Protestant Church, and a new scholasticism was introduced, careful only for orthodoxy, and neglectful of spiritual life. Then the shoemaker of Görlitz began to be the subject of illuminations, and to write out thoughts which even Hegel praises for their speculative depths. The exhortation of the magistrates, "to stick to his last," was all in vain; and so, amidst the rubbish of his mystical shop, quicksilver, sulphur, and the rest, shines the Aurora of a spiritual morning.

So, again, when England was slumbering in spiritual sloth, and the Established Church with its ministers had become faithless, and even practical skepticism reigned supreme, according to the testimony of such various authorities as Southey, Isaac Taylor, and Archbishop Manning, the Wesleyan Reformation came, the soberest, and so the truest, Mysticism of all.

Thus Mysticism is ever practical in motive and final cause, whatever may be the method pursued. The highest object of human thought, the eternal goal of human longing, the rest of the human spirit, God, is the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem* of the Mystic's search.

We may see, then, secondly, of what value the study of Mysticism is to us. Preger, in a new monograph upon this subject, writes:—

> The history of Mysticism is said to be only a clinic history, but mayhap all found here is not sickness: perhaps the German Mysticism in the Middle Ages is one of the great steps of development in the history of the religious and spiritual life of our people; and perhaps those are right who see in this one of the most

significant preparations for the German Reformation; perhaps those also who claim to have found in it the cradle of German philosophy.

So, also, Martensen, in his "Meister Eckhart," writes:—

> Christian Mysticism is not only a most significant form of piety, and the religious life a peculiar religious growth, rooting in the depths of the feeling and the heart, but it is at the same time a form of speculative theology. So far is Mysticism, according to its innermost nature, from being antagonistic to reason, that we claim for it rather an important place in the history of religious speculation itself.

That these estimates are not exaggerated may be seen in the fact that here is a tendency which ever emerges in the history of human thought and feeling. In some of its forms, either genuine or perverted, its representatives stand forth in almost every age. That which associates these men together, and which links men otherwise so diverse in all respects, must be a constant factor of humanity, must be grounded in our common nature, must be the outgrowth of an instinct, if you please, which characterizes man as such. As a study of human nature it demands our attention, if we would not be less cosmopolitan than the Roman Terence. Besides, a closer examination will discover to us great truths under paradoxical forms of expression, and the highest spiritual utterances, though it may be in a barbaric dress; in fine, food for the spiritual sustenance of the children of light—very pearls, which are ever trodden under the feet of the multitude. In Eckhart one may study Mysticism in its deepest forms. Whoever has compassed him has gained an insight into essential Mysticism. Martensen says of him: "He is in the circle of German Mystics the most prominent form, the master of the whole school, in whom Mysticism presents itself in its strongest originality." And yet the most competent authorities deny that the charge of pantheism, so often attached to him, is a just one. His pantheism is not in the thought which he would present, but simply in the form of expression as viewed in the light of modern thought. Eckhart, were he living in our day, would use more guarded expressions, and repudiate the charge of pantheism with indignation. Ruysbroek, who belongs to the same stand-point with Eckhart, Suso, and

Tauler, defines four classes of so-called Mystics, against whose principles he cannot express himself with too great indignation. The first class assert that they belong to the Divine Essence, and that they are superior to the Spirit of God; the second assert that they are divine by nature; the third declare themselves divine sons of God in the same sense as Christ was; while the fourth are nihilists, declaring that neither themselves nor God have any real existence. So we see that the lines were drawn then, and, closely as the expressions of these men trend upon pantheism, in our view they were yet not chargeable with it.

Let us look at some of the questionable statements of Master Eckhart, which, we are sure, can be vindicated as full of speculative truth, and the utterances of a deep Christian experience.

Much fault has been found with this utterance of his: "God in himself was not God—in the creature only hath he become God." We may grant that this is not strictly true, yet in Eckhart's design it is only a bold form of statement of the well-known distinction in theology, and which solves many perplexing questions regarding the attributes of God *per se*, and God in relation to the world. Eckhart is only emphasizing the thought that the divine seeks manifestation in the creature-world, and obeys the ethical imperative of love. This yearning of the divine after his creatures is surely rational, and scriptural, too, for Christ himself asserted "that likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth." It is really not as bold a statement as that of the Christian lady into whose heart the Scotch Dr. Brown dropped the relentless question: "Janet, what should you say if, after all he has done for you, God should let you drop into hell?"

The profound answer was: "E'en's he likes; if he does, he'll lose mair than I'll do."

He is charged with teaching the doctrine of emanation, as he uses the term. But he explains creation as an outflow of the creature mediated by the divine will.

He says, in various forms of expression, "The eye whereby I inwardly see God is the same eye whereby God inwardly sees me." But he is here speaking of the "spark," or *ganster*, of the soul, the uncreated essential reason, which is God within

us. In other cases this expression is to be explained by his theory of perception, according to which he would assert that the union of the thing perceived with the soul is so intimate that soul and thing become one. In fact, he says on one occasion, "Eye is wood, and wood is my eye." Surely, all want of distinction between the soul and God is denied, when he says in this immediate connection, "Soul is God, and God is soul, and, in the actuality of its seeing, God and soul persist in one essence. Still each remains what it is, although they become one in the actuality of seeing." One more quotation will suffice to vindicate Eckhart from the charge of pantheism. "How is it with the soul lost in God? May it find itself or not? And although it sinks and sinks in the eternity of the divine essence, it can yet never grasp the ground. Therefore has God left it a little point, whereby it returns into itself, and finds itself, and confesses itself creature." He says somewhere, "God and I are one in knowing;" a thought which Hegel has made his own, with all the consequences, in his "Philosophy of Religion." But what has already been said about perception will assure us that he does not mean it in the pantheistic sense. Besides, he is speaking from the heart of the scholastic premise that thought and being are one, as well as emphasizing, perhaps one-sidedly, the fact of the divine substrate of human thought and human personality. When he says, "The inner voice is the voice of God," we readily acquiesce; but when he passes from the ethical to the intellectual reciprocity of the human and the divine, we lag behind him.

When he says, "The heavenly Father produces his only-begotten Son in himself and in me—for I am one with him—he cannot exclude me," we shake our heads in disapproval. Yet as sober a theologian as Cudworth has the same thought of the Christian soul becoming a Christ, and it is not far to seek a Scripture analogue in "Christ in you."

The two great thoughts with which the Mystic deals are renunciation of self and obedience to God. These are confessed to be practical duties by the soberest Christian of to-day. Without the former we have not met the first condition of the Christian life, and opened the way to implicit obedience. "Then shall a man," says Eckhart, "be truly poor, when he is as free from his creature-will as he was before he was born.

He alone hath true spiritual poverty who wills nothing, knows nothing, desires nothing." It has sometimes been demanded of the Christian that his will should be so entirely acquiescent in the divine that he should consent to be damned, were it the will of God. It certainly is not an adequate mode of statement, and all of truth which it contains is expressed in Eckhart's account of the beggar.

"What if God were to cast thee into hell?" said the scholar.

"Cast me into hell? His goodness holds him back therefrom. Yet if he did, I should have two arms to embrace him withal. One arm is true humility, and therewith am I one with his holy humanity. And with the right arm of love, that joineth his holy Godhead, I would embrace him, so he must come with me into hell likewise. And even so, I would sooner be in hell and have God, than in heaven and not have him."

Suso, who has been called the Minnesinger of divine love, was wont to say—thus uniting in one formula the two elements of renunciation and obedience—"A man of true self-abandonment must be *un*built from the creature, *in*built with Christ, and *over*built into the Godhead."

Much has been said about the mystic trance—the ecstasies which sometimes overmaster the subject of divine illumination. Such experiences do not seem wholly unlikely or abnormal. An undue yearning for these spiritual delights is deprecated by the better class of Mystics; and Jeremy Taylor says, "It is not discretion in a servant to hasten to his meal and snatch at the refreshment of visions—unions and abstractions." Bernard of Clairvaux also seeks for peace, and joy, and charity to all men, and leaves "the high hills to the harts and the climbing goats." Still Henry More makes the fitting distinction when he writes, "To such enthusiasm as is but the triumph of the soul of man, inebriated, as it were, with the delicious sense of the divine life, that blessed Root and Original of all holy wisdom and virtue, I am as much a friend as I am to the vulgar, fanatical enthusiasm a professed enemy."

Surely if scientific discovery and the dawn of intellectual truth upon the soul have kindled raptures such as we know to be real, much more might it be reasonable to suppose that spiritual

truth and accomplished communion with God would thrill the inmost soul in a manner unknown on any lower plane. If Archimedes' Eureka, and Pythagoras's hecatomb are only faint expressions of intellectual joy; if Kepler cried out in rapture, "O God, I think thy thoughts after thee!" and Newton was unmanned by his discovery of universal gravitation, surely Suso's visions are not wholly incredible, nor Bœhme's two revelations, nor the Contemplation of the Victorines. They may be, and probably are, exaggerations; the spiritual equilibrium is not maintained, as might be expected; things are not viewed in "the dry light" of reason; but still we insist that these high experiences are not wholly delusion, and have their rational ground in the depths of the human soul.

Thirdly, Mysticism is far more to us than a study of one phase of human thought and feeling, or than a *stadium* of the philosophic development of mankind. It is a matter of the greatest practical interest to us—in fact, no other than this: May we know God and hold intimate personal communion with him? The yearning of the race after the divine and our misery without him show the practical issues of the question. It is the highest and deepest of all, compared with which all other investigations are of but little account. Whatever else Revelation is given to accomplish, the focus of Scripture truth is here.

Mysticism, then, brings us back to the conviction deeply rooted in the human soul, that God is accessible to us. It routs the philosophy of Nescience, which Hamilton brought forward, and which Mansel pushed to the limits of absurdity. It scoffs at the doctrine of the relativity of knowledge, certainly so far as regards God, and asserts adequate knowledge, though it be partial and finite. The Mystic laughs to scorn "The Limits of Religious Thought," and deems it, as it truly is, one of the most pernicious of books. If he must choose between the two, he would sooner take to his heart Hegel's "Philosophy of Religion." If the doctrine of relativity is to be accepted at all, it is to be taken as a truism, namely, we can know only so far as we have the capacity to know. Ulrici says in "Glauben und Wissen":—

> The attribute conditioned, as applied to our knowledge, is *qualitative*, a peculiarity of our knowing, but by no means a quantitative

limitation of the same through another. Thus no real existence is excluded from our cognition, but every existent thing, without exception, may be known by us if it meets the conditions of our cognition.

Therefore, as consciousness is the *sine qua non* of perception in all other cases, it is no less so as regards the divine. Men may juggle as they will with the *ding an sich*, and deny our knowledge, since we cannot escape consciousness; it is, nevertheless, true that we do have real knowledge of the thing in perception, and of God, as of all else. Thus, as Maurice well says, "We cannot discover the Eternal and Infinite, but he discovers himself." The Divine Orb rises above the horizon of consciousness, illuminating the whole field, and giving knowledge of himself. Along with the self-consciousness and the world-consciousness, as the philosophers say, is a God-consciousness. This is of the nature of an instinct, or, rather, it is an intuition, capable of being crushed out, on the one hand, or of being developed, on the other. Thus this religious consciousness may become at last communion. Thus, too, on philosophic grounds, we may assert an elevated and immediate consciousness of God. The declaration of Paul, "In him we live, and move, and have our being," is the profoundest philosophic truth. The vision of God in Malebranche is not the exact truth, but infinitely nearer the same than that deistic transcendence which is so fearful of pantheism as to give no place to the sister truth of the divine Immanence. Paul asserts the same most definitely in saying, "He is not far from every one of us," and routs all the advocates of Nescience by declaring the search after God, the feeling after him, and the finding at last.

Turning now from these general considerations, which may be called philosophic, let us consider those which are specifically Christian. The postulate of Scripture, the thought which is ever prominent throughout the New Testament, is that of man's knowledge of God, and the possibility, yea, necessity, of communion with him. If Revelation is not to be vapored away into mere external truth, it is to be estimated after the words of Christ when he says, "This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent." The words of Paul are to the same effect: "The things which God hath prepared for them that

love him, . . . God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit;" or, better still, the words of John: "Every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God."

Of course, all this is true only of those who have met the conditions of Christian faith, and have entered into communion with God, even though it be in but an initial stage and a germinal experience. The proud, unbelieving world is excluded from such a knowledge by its self-maintained incapacity to receive it, as Paul tells us, "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, . . . because they are spiritually discerned."

Now, all this is the central core of Mysticism. These are the thoughts in which the Mystic delights, and which he seeks to verify in his daily experience.

The lessons of Mysticism are lessons for this present time, because of our continual proneness to sink down to the plane of naturalism and worldliness, and forget the teachings of our divine Master. The great want of the Church to-day is a profounder apprehension of the basal truths of spiritual life, and a translation of the same into individual experience. The mass of Christians seem to hold the profounder truths of Scripture speculatively, and fail to apprehend their deepest meaning. They have some knowledge of God, but not an intimate and unintermittent communion. They take the utterances of the Saviour and of inspired men at a vast discount, often appropriating into their experience only the lowest potency of spiritual life. The declarations of Scripture and the great privileges there proclaimed must be taken up into our experience, and the test of use applied to them. They enunciate great facts of spiritual life. They are but a dead letter, unless we verify them in daily use. The Scriptures state spiritual facts to us as a scientific work states physical truth. They give us the conditions upon which their facts may be verified in personal experience, without which, indeed, they cannot be verified at all.

Now, the great mass of the Christian world does not, we think, verify spiritual truth in this manner. Hence the weakness of the Church, and the feeble life of believers; hence the failure of the Church to impress upon the world a conviction of the great doctrines of spiritual life which the Master has placed in its possession.

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Let us turn to the Mysticism of John. "God is light;" and what other function has light than to reveal itself and all things upon which it falls? Still further, this light is not inaccessible, because it has been manifested in the human sphere through his Son; and, yet more, the end of man's existence is to have fellowship with this life and this light.

Now, this is not to be accomplished by purely intellectual processes. We can never get beyond ourselves by mere thought, though it be Titanic. Plotinus cannot teach us how we may reach God by his ecstasy, for the *ἄνθος νόου* does not bathe in the light of the divine; nor can Schelling lift us to the divine manifestation by his intellectual intuition, although in his Erlangen lectures he woos us to a renunciation that sounds strangely like the Christian. They give us but an *ignis-fatuus*, a creation of the imagination. The true mystical, the practical way, is the only way to climb to God. Love is the solvent word, and John speaks it when he says, "Every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God"; or, negatively, "he that loveth not, knoweth not God." The words of Pascal are familiar, "The things of this world must be known to be loved, but the things of God must be loved to be known." Plotinus claimed to have reached his serene height only twice in his life; and Schelling declares that such experience is not for the mass of men, but accorded only to the innermost circle of the initiated. The true Mystic, however, declares that the revelation of God to the soul of man through love and obedience is for all—equally for the peasant and the philosopher—yea, more frequently granted to the former than the latter, because he can more easily put himself in relation to the revealing God.

Thus the vision of God is to be gained from no intellectual Himmalaya; the philosopher may pile Ossa upon Pelion in vain: he cannot scale the heavenly heights. But to the loving soul God reveals himself. The glory of a conscious communion irradiates the soul. Rapture untold, and well nigh too much for mortal soul to bear, becomes at times its portion; as the Rabbins say that Moses died because of the kiss of God; and even in these prosaic modern days, Fletcher, of Madeley, cried out, "withhold thy hand, O God, lest the vessel burst."

The two imperative demands which Mysticism has always made are abnegation of self, and thus of sin—and then entire consecration to God. What else than this does Christianity demand of its disciples in every age? There is nothing in the Mystics that plows deeper into the soul than the words of Christ himself. Self, which is the fountain of sin, the tap-root of transgression, is struck at by that grand maxim with which the Sermon on the Mount begins, and which contains Christianity *in nuce:* "Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

Another utterance of the Saviour which recalls the Mystic death of self is this: "Whoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it."

We know these statements are truisms in the Christian world, often on our tongues, and deemed axiomatic. But we do not fully believe them; we do not act as if they were literally true; we do not conduct our lives in accordance with their deep meaning. We come short of the fullness of Christian truth, and rarely verify it in our experience. Self is not slain; we do not ascend "dying-wise," as the Mystics say; or, again, make it our motto with others, "*introrsum ascendere*," and thus pave the way for entire consecration to God, whereby the Mystic "sets his feet in a large room." We aim at the gifts of God, rather than God himself, forgetting that with him we have all. A Kempis gives a conversation between the soul and Christ, in which Tholuck imitates him in his "Hours of Christian Devotion," wherein this lesson is taught to the believer.

Madam Guyon also sings:—

> "The love of thee flows just as much
> As that of ebbing self subsides;
> Our hearts, their scantiness is such,
> Bear not the conflict of two rival tides."

When the Christian reaches this point, he knows the full meaning of the Saviour's utterance: "If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed," for deliberation gives place to unquestioning obedience, and *formal* becomes *real* freedom.

In view of all this, it may be asserted that we need a Mystic revival in the Christian Church. There is no danger in

Mysticism, as long as it adheres to the word of God, and keeps from aberration thereby. The errors of Mysticism have always arisen from neglect of this chart, given to guide the mariner over the sea of life. If we cleave to revealed truth, we shall be saved from one-sided subjectivity and from a morbid introspection as well.

Lastly, the only hope of a union in the future of the severed members of the body of Christ, which is his Church, is to be found in a deeper, spiritual life in a mystic union with Christ. On the basis of dogmas and creeds we shall never come together; but when our hearts shall all beat responsive to the highest and deepest spiritual truth, when we shall all work harmoniously under the impulse of Christian love, when, in fine, the Mysticism of St. John shall take deep root in all the disciples of Christ, then the subduing power of divine love will draw us together, and the dissensions of Christendom will forever cease. It must be thus, for Mysticism seeks to live a life "hid with Christ, in God."

Art. III.—SCHLIEMANN'S TROJAN RESEARCHES.

Troy and its Remains; A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries made on the Site of Ilium, and in the Trojan Plain. By Dr. Henry Schliemann. Translated, with the Author's Sanction. Edited by Philip Smith, B. A., Author of the "History of the Ancient World," and of the "Student's Ancient History of the East." With Map, Plans, Views, and Cuts, representing Five Hundred Objects of Antiquity Discovered on the Site. 8vo., pp. lv. and 392. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. 1876.

The present century is certainly an age of archæological discovery unrivaled in its results by any preceding period of equal length. Indeed, it may be asserted without exaggeration that the fruits of the most recent investigations in this domain are not thrown into the shade by the brilliant successes attained in the realm of scientific research, or in that of useful invention. Had nothing more been accomplished than the reconstruction of a great part of the geography of the ancient world previously misunderstood, this would, in itself, have constituted a valuable acquisition. But this incidental gain is, in fact, of minor importance in comparison with the light that has been so copiously shed upon the manners and customs, the language, and

especially the history, of the men and women of remote generations. It is no small thing, by the uncovering of an ancient site, to be brought face to face with the civilization of two or three thousand years ago; still less is it an insignificant prize that is won, when the clew of the apparently indecipherable monumental records is obtained, and a riddle is solved that clears up the difficulties of alphabet and language, compelling inscribed slabs and bricks to give up the long-treasured secret of a forgotten history.

At what a prodigious expenditure of time, thought, and money these ends have been attained, we all know. The excavation of even a limited area, when the accumulated *débris* of centuries is twenty or more feet in depth, requires no slight outlay; and the extensive operations of Layard and Botta at Nineveh would not have been practicable without the substantial support obtained by the explorers from the British Museum and the French Government. It was reserved for the author of the work now before us to demonstrate what a more than princely liberality could enable a private person to accomplish in the work of discovering and laying bare to the inspection of the world an ancient city of great celebrity, that has been buried forty feet deep in the ground; and to do this by means of his own unaided resources. Leaving out of consideration the great achievements of pure benevolence, whether prompted by distinctly religious or by merely philanthropic motives, we must assign to such undertakings as that of Schliemann a place among the most praiseworthy of human efforts. They tend very greatly to enlarge the sphere of our acquaintance with the past, and they exhibit an unselfish desire to be of general utility which cannot be too highly commended. In an age tending strongly to an idolatrous exaltation of wealth into an object of adoration, he who practically manifests his own estimate of the transcendent value of knowledge in the comparison deserves well of his fellows, not only for the immediate good he does, but for the wholesome example he sets to the world.

However little many of the learned may like it, a prominent teaching of the course of recent discoveries is that incredulity is not the highest intellectual exercise, and that, after all, *faith*, even in purely secular matters, will be more likely to attain to

truth than its opposite. History undeniably has its difficulties, which a destructive criticism would summarily dispose of by impugning without hesitation the good faith or the intelligence of those upon whose authority its statements rest. But the stern logic of archæological discovery convicts the rash act as one of supreme folly, and removes much of what had been consigned to the category of impossibility, to the ever-increasing number of historical paradoxes. The discovery of the traces of Xerxes' canal across the isthmus of Mt. Athos no more directly exposes the ignorance of the Roman satirist who sneered at the reputed achievement as a "Greek lie," than does the recovery of the tablets in cuneiform character, giving an early Assyrian tradition of the Deluge, demonstrate the silliness of the erudite critic who adduces a great mass of learning to prove the writer of the Pentateuch a forger flourishing long after the Babylonish Captivity.

Of the wonderful vitality and efficacy of faith in purely secular relations the volume whose title stands at the head of this article, and which has now been sufficiently long before the public to receive careful consideration, is a standing proof. Whatever Heinrich Schliemann has accomplished at Troy has been directly, we had almost said *solely*, the result of a conviction which no skepticism, however plausible or backed by pretended scholarship, could shake, that Homer was a real person, that Troy was a veritable city, that the expedition of the Greeks under Agamemnon actually took place, and that in the Iliad we have a fair and authentic account of some of the incidents of the expedition, not, indeed, without some poetical exaggeration and embellishment, but, nevertheless, in its essential points honest and trustworthy. For, to use his own words, the fortunate explorer approached his self-imposed task believing in the exactness of the Iliad as in the Gospel itself![*]

Under the circumstances, it becomes a matter of no common interest to learn something of the personal history of the man himself, who, without this strongly developed characteristic, could hardly have gained the results he has reached. Happily, he has given us a brief autobiographical sketch, worthy of attention on more accounts than one.

We should not be far wrong if we classed Heinrich Schlie-

[*] "Troy and its Remains," p. 17.

mann's life itself among the paradoxes of history; for nothing could have been further from ordinary human probability than that the boy of fourteen, apprenticed to a grocer in the insignificant town of Fürstenberg, in the province of Mecklenburg, should ever figure as in some regards the foremost discoverer of our times, and one of the most remarkable linguists, if not for accuracy, at least for the rapidity in which he has mastered a very large number of languages. Schliemann first introduces himself to our notice—and the incident is not so trivial as it at first appears to be—as a boy of ten years of age, in 1832, presenting to his father, then living in the village of Kalkhorst, as a Christmas gift, what he styles a badly written Latin essay upon the principal events of the Trojan war, and the adventures of Ulysses and Agamemnon. "Little did I think," he adds, with a touch of pardonable self-gratulation, "that six-and-thirty years later I should offer the public a work on the same subject, after having had the good fortune to see with my own eyes the scene of that war, and the country of the heroes whose names have been immortalized by Homer." The sentence was written more than nine years ago, on the last day of 1868, and long before his explorations at Troy had revealed what Schliemann confidently believes to be the very city Homer celebrated in song, or we may be sure that it would have had a still more pointed conclusion.

No surroundings could well have been more unfavorable to mental culture than those by which young Schliemann was now environed. From five in the morning to eleven at night his occupations were "retailing herrings, butter, brandy, milk, and salt, grinding potatoes for the still, sweeping the shop, etc." He was brought into contact only with the poor and ignorant; he had not a moment free for study, and he rapidly forgot the little he had learned in childhood. But he did not forget how his father had enchanted and transported him with enthusiasm by relating to him, as soon as he had learned to speak, the great deeds of the Homeric heroes. An incident that occurred during this dreary period is so characteristic that we must reproduce it in his own words:—

> As long as I live I shall never forget the evening when a drunken miller came into the shop. He was the son of a Protestant clergyman in a village near Teterow, and had almost con-

cluded his studies at the Gymnasium when he was expelled on account of his bad conduct. To punish him for this his father made him learn the trade of a miller. Dissatisfied with his lot, the young man gave himself up to drink, which, however, had not made him forget his Homer; for he recited to us about one hundred lines of the poet, observing the rhythmic cadence. Although I did not understand a word, the melodious speech made a deep impression upon me, and I wept bitter tears for my unhappy fate. Then I got him to repeat to me those god-like verses, paying him with three glasses of brandy, which I bought with the few pence that made up my whole fortune. From that moment I never ceased to pray God that by his grace I might yet have the happiness to learn Greek.

So enthusiastic a nature could scarcely be repressed; but it was one of those providential circumstances that at first sight appear either unimportant, or positively disadvantageous, that led the way to the fulfillment of the lad's hopes. Overstraining his chest in lifting a heavy cask, he spat blood, and was unfitted for his hard work. Almost in despair, he shipped at Hamburg as cabin-boy on a vessel bound for Venezuela, was shipwrecked off the island of Texel, near the Zuyder Zee, whence, with difficulty, he made his way to Amsterdam. Here the sympathy of a kind ship-broker secured him a small subscription to meet his immediate wants, and a situation in an office, where his work consisted in stamping bills of exchange and getting them cashed in the town, and in carrying letters to and from the post-office. The compensation was pitifully small; the youth shivered in his wretched garret by winter, and was scorched by the heat in summer; while for his meals he could afford so little that his breakfasts were of rye-meal porridge, and his dinner never cost more than three cents of our money. But he had time to study! He began with English, and his efforts were pursued with extraordinary diligence. As the methods of a man who has accomplished such linguistic success are entitled to a careful examination, we shall let him state them for himself:—

> Necessity showed me a method which greatly facilitates the study of a language. This method consists in reading a great deal aloud, without making a translation, devoting one hour every day to writing essays upon subjects that interest one, correcting these under a teacher's supervision, learning them by heart, and repeating in the next lesson what was corrected on the previous day. My memory was bad, since from my childhood it had not

been exercised upon any object; but I made use of every moment, and even stole time for study. I never went on my errands, even in the rain, without having my book in my hand, and learning something by heart; and I never waited at the post-office without reading. By such means I gradually strengthened my memory, and in half a year I had succeeded in acquiring a thorough knowledge of the English language. I then applied the same method to the study of French, the difficulties of which I overcame likewise in another six months. These persevering and excessive studies had in the course of one year strengthened my memory to such a degree that the study of Dutch, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese appeared very easy, and it did not take me more than six weeks to write each of these languages, and to speak them fluently.

Schliemann's next work was the mastering of the Russian language in the course of six weeks, with the aid of "an old grammar, a lexicon, and a bad translation of Telemachus." This last acquisition he put to good practical account; for from writing commercial letters in Russian, and conversing with the Russian merchants who resorted to Amsterdam for the indigo auctions, he came to be dispatched to St. Petersburg as agent for a Dutch house, and in about a year more established himself there in business for himself. He does not tell us much respecting his commercial success, except that he retired in 1863, having, by the blessing of Heaven, accumulated a fortune such as his ambition had never ventured to aspire to—a fortune, we may add, without which it would have been impossible for him to prosecute the excavations which have made his name famous.

It was not until January, 1856, that he ventured to commence the study of Greek, the reason of this strange delay being that he was afraid that this language "would exercise too great a fascination" over him, and "estrange him from his commercial business!" Nobly, however, did he make up for lost time. In six weeks he overcame the difficulties of modern Greek; in three months more he could read Homer; and during the ensuing two years, devoted exclusively to Greek literature, he read "almost all the old authors cursorily, and the Iliad and Odyssey several times." In 1858–59, he traveled extensively through Europe, Egypt, and Syria, returning by Athens. In 1864–66, he "allowed himself to be persuaded" to visit India, China, and Japan, and travel around the world. In 1870 he

made some preliminary excavations at Hissarlik, and convinced himself that the true site of Troy was to be found there. The results of this examination, which were meager, were published in French, in a work entitled "Ithaque, le Péloponnèse, et Troie." His more systematic excavations were prosecuted in 1871–73, and it is the important fruits of these three years' labors that are given to us in detail in the volume before us.

We have given these details of Dr. Schliemann's life, based upon his own account, because that account, in its simplicity, naturalness, and enthusiasm, is a reflection of the man himself. For, perhaps as much as any writer whose productions we have ever read, Schliemann, in portraying the subject of which he treats, brings his own personality distinctly to the reader's eye. We see before us a character by no means common. We admire in it the great development of the perceptive faculties. As in the acquisition of a foreign language, so in the development of a theory, we find in Schliemann great rapidity of action and a facile comprehension. Before the untiring zeal of the scholar and explorer all difficulties, whether material or intellectual, seem to vanish, and nothing like failure can be admitted. At a touch, as in some Eastern fable, every thing turns to gold. Courage, perseverance, determination, are never wanting. With these there is entire good faith, and an honesty that has never a thought of concealment, even when worldly wisdom might dictate a little prudent reserve.

It cannot be denied, we add in passing, that these advantages are counterbalanced by some serious defects. Schliemann is undoubtedly apt to jump at conclusions, especially when these go to support his pre-conceived notions, and to announce conclusions thus hastily and inconsiderately reached with the positiveness of certain knowledge. His ardent faith, also, has at times a tendency to degenerate into a species of credulity; and with a fickleness often found closely associated with too great haste and positiveness of deduction, it is no uncommon thing for him to abandon very unceremoniously a point which at an earlier period he had not even deigned to support by demonstration, but was quite content to assume as an axiom demanding no proof. Without, however, dwelling longer upon the man, we pass to a consideration of a few of the interesting and important results he has reached.

The excavations of Schliemann have fully confirmed the belief of the most judicious of moderns, as well as the almost unanimous faith of antiquity, that the site of the Homeric Troy was to be sought on the hill known at present as *Hissarlik*, (that is, in Turkish, "the fortress,") between the villages of Kum-kioi, Kalli-fatli, and Tchiblah. Into the history of the dispute respecting the site of Troy we need not enter at any great length. It is not disputed that the Ilium of historical Greek times, the Ilium of the fourth century before Christ, was Hissarlik. Here was a city inhabited by a population Greek in language, and Greek by descent, who claimed to occupy the very inclosure within which Priam's palace once stood. There is no doubt that it was upon the "Pergamus" shown in that city that Xerxes, when starting on his expedition against Greece, endeavored to propitiate the Ilian Minerva by an offering of a thousand cattle, and by libations poured out by the Magi in honor of the local heroes. (Herodotus, vii, 43.) The site may not have been at that time peopled, as it certainly was peopled at the time of the expedition of the younger Cyrus, and in that of Alexander the Great, who visited it when starting on his great march to the East. Nor was the correctness of the identification of the Old and New Iliums ever seriously called into question until Demetrius, of Skepsis, and Hestiæa, a female author of Alexandria Troas, advanced the startling view that the whole world had hitherto been laboring under a mistake. How far local jealousies may have occasioned their violent opposition to the universally received notion we do not know; but ostensibly their grounds were found in the impossibility of compressing all the stirring events of the Trojan war, as recounted by Homer, into the contracted plain between the Ilium of historic times and the shore of the Hellespont. For this shore, they urged, had once been much nearer the walls, the alluvial soil brought down by the river Scamander having greatly encroached upon the waters.

The skeptical views of Demetrius and Hestiæa were indorsed by Strabo, (who, however, never visited the localities,) and, among moderns, toward the end of the last century, by Lechevalier, who has had a large following. These views necessitated the selection of some other spot to be invested with the honors of which Hissarlik, the "new" Troy, was to be

stripped. There were two favorite localities: the so-called "Village of the Ilians"—'Ιλιέων κώμη—and the heights of *Bounarbashi*, both of them much more distant from the shore, and, therefore, affording an ample (in fact, *too* ample) space for the Homeric combats. The first of these two sites was, however, rejected by almost all careful critics, and the learned of the beginning of the present century had so decidedly agreed upon the other that Colonel Leake, usually so careful an authority, remarked apologetically at the outset of his discussion of the matter in his "Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor," published in 1824:—

> So many of the most intelligent *travelers* in the Troas are agreed in placing the Homeric Ilium at Bounarbashi that I should have been satisfied on the present occasion with stating my concurrence with their opinion, and with referring to the arguments of such of them as have supported it by their publications, had not some adverse systems been recently maintained with great learning and ingenuity; though chiefly, it must be admitted, by those who have considered the question in the closet only.—Page 277.

In defense of the more distant site the eminent geographer just referred to accordingly attempts to answer the most prominent objections that present themselves to every mind—such as, that the Greek and Trojan armies could not possibly have traveled over so many miles each day to and fro as this supposition would require, and that the pursuit of Hector by his victorious antagonist, Achilles, three times around the walls, would have been out of the question, in view of the peculiar conformation of the ground. The latter difficulty he meets by trying to show that Homer's language may be naturally understood to mean *near* or *before* the city, and not *around* it,* and that "no supposed situation of the city which is not entirely in the plain will suit the idea of a course around the entire circuit of the walls and that such a situation would be totally unadapted to the description which Homer has given to Troy, as windy, lofty, and as surmounted with a citadel bordered by precipices." Respecting the other objection, Colonel Leake, in the end, falls back upon the license which every poet feels entitled to use, and those fictions so frequently allowed

* By a comparison of the following lines of the Iliad: ii, 508; vi, 327; xvi, 448; xviii, 279.

throughout the Iliad that a particular reference to them "cannot be necessary." "At one time the poet found it convenient to magnify beyond probability, or, even beyond possibility, the common occurrences of war; at another, to bring together the actions of an extensive field, in order to present them to view in one continued scene."

Did it not occur to Leake, and to others of the same school, that in allowing Homer this latitude they were, in reality, taking away the force of every argument they could allege against the site of Hissarlik, derived from its too great proximity to the sea?

Mr. Grote, in his magnificent history,* and Leonhard Schmitz, in a short but sensible article in Dr. Wm. Smith's "Dictionary of Geography," refused to subscribe to the theory of Demetrius of Skepsis. But it was Schliemann who first put it to a practical test and proved it utterly untenable. He began by instituting excavations on the hill of Bounarbashi, and soon satisfied himself that no town could, at any time, have stood there. Every-where "the pure virgin soil" was met "at a depth of less than five feet, and, generally, immediately below the surface." Now, it is well known that the marks of the existence of an ancient inhabited town are altogether indelible. Even if the walls were not of stone, but, as in many cases, of sun-dried bricks, which easily crumble away, and become indistinguishable from the ordinary soil, the utensils of every-day life cannot be so thoroughly made away with as to leave no trace. Especially are the terra-cotta jars and vases, employed for a thousand purposes for which wood or metals are used among us—as amphoræ for wines and other liquids, in place of barrels, or huge earthenware casks of five or six feet in height, answering the purpose of cellars for the preservation of grain or oil—practically indestructible. Either entire or in pieces they are sure to remain. But there was nothing of the kind at Bounarbashi. On the heights back of the village the native rock was nowhere concealed by over a foot and a half of soil. Half an hour further inland there were, indeed, found traces of a small town, (probably Gergis;) but not only was the accumulation of *débris* altogether insignificant, but whatever pottery was found evidently belonged to the Hellenic

* Vol. i, page 328, and following. American Edition.

period. Schliemann was even more unsuccessful in November, 1871, on the site of the so-called "Village of the Ilians," where "nothing but pure granulated earth was found, without any admixture of ruins."*

Results more diverse from these could scarcely be conceived than followed close upon excavations on the despised *Hissarlik*. The difficulty was not to find, but to manage, the enormous deposits of relics of human habitations. Instead of meeting the native rock at the depth of one or two feet, Schliemann had to dig through a layer generally forty or forty-five, and sometimes even over fifty, feet in thickness. And in place of a uniform, earthy, or sandy deposit, there was a succession of deposits, often compacted to the hardness of rock, and diversified by a series of massive constructions, city walls and walls of private or public edifices, evidently built at different times and by people of various stages of civilization, one overlying the other in perplexing confusion. Schliemann discovered, therefore, that for *one* city he was in quest of, he had fallen upon the remains of not less than *four* cities, built one over the other! They are thus described by him. Referring to the upright position of the colossal urns found by him in several of the strata, Schliemann observes that this

> Is the best proof, if, indeed, any were needed, that the mighty masses of *débris* cannot have been brought here from another place, but that they were formed gradually in the course of thousands of years, and that the conquerors and destroyers of Ilium, or, at least, the new settlers after its conquest and destruction, never had the same manners and customs as their predecessors. Consequently, for many centuries houses with walls built of unburnt bricks stood upon the mighty heaps of stone, from thirteen to twenty feet thick, belonging to the enormous buildings of the primitive Trojans; again, for centuries houses built of stone joined with clay were erected upon the ruins of houses of brick; for another long period, upon the ruins of these stone houses wooden houses were erected; and, lastly, upon the charred ruins of the latter were established the buildings of the Greek colony, which at first consisted of large hewn stones joined with clay and cement. It can thus no longer seem astonishing that these masses of ruins, covering the primary soil, have a thickness of from fourteen to sixteen meters (forty-six to fifty-two feet) at the least.†

Which of these four pre-Hellenic cities was the Ilium of Priam and Hector, the Troy which the wonderful genius of

* "Troy and its Remains," pp. 42–44. † *Ibid.*, p. 175.

Homer has made more famous and interesting to us than a hundred other cities once equally powerful, but now wholly lost in obscurity? On this point Schliemann has, at different times, held different opinions. At first he was decidedly inclined to identify it with the city whose ruins formed the lowest stratum. Subsequently he as decidedly rejected his first impressions, and came to the conclusion that this honor was due to the city next in order of time. And, certainly, if Homeric Troy stood on this spot—and not another site within any reasonable distance can be shown to possess any of the requisite conditions—it would seem that the second layer combines more features that resemble it than either its predecessor or its two successors. Unless Schliemann has grossly misunderstood the indications of the levels, it was with the second city that those fortifications arose in which are prominent what he believes to be the Great Tower of Ilium, and the double entrance alone exhibiting any correspondence to the Scæan Gates.

In this connection we may mention one or two circumstances incidentally touched upon by the author, to us scarcely inferior in interest to the main subject of discussion. Every one knows how much geologists and others have made of the data for chronology furnished by the relative thickness of deposits made in historic times. If the alluvial sediment forming at the mouths of some rivers within the recollection of man has been measured and found to increase at the slow rate of a few inches or feet in a century, it is inferred that the rock strata, apparently of similar formation, and measuring many hundreds of feet in thickness, must have required hundreds of thousands of years. And if the falls of Niagara are discovered to be gradually receding westward a very few feet in a decade of years, through the slow but steady crumbling of the rocks over which they pour, the same authorities jump at the conclusion that it must have taken thirty-five thousand*—possibly, suggests Dana, three hundred and eighty thousand†—years for the Niagara River to wear away its gorge of eight and a half miles in length. The same reasoning has been applied to places of human habitation. But Schliemann's practical experience proves it in this case perfectly fallacious, and he comes

* Lyell's "Principles of Geology," p. 217. † Dana, "Text-book," pp. 245, 6.

to this conclusion respecting the cities on the hill of Hissarlik—certainly a conclusion far from being foreseen by him at first—that "*it is impossible to calculate the duration of their existence, even approximately, from the thickness of their ruins.*"* The grounds of the assertion are clear and definite.

We do not know the conditions under which these ruins were found. "We can form no idea of the way in which these nations lived, and what calamities they had to endure." Starting with the facts, which he believes that we have sufficient reason to accredit, that the *Greek* city—the Ilium Novum—was founded about 700 B. C., and continued to be inhabited until about 361 A. D., Schliemann asks himself the question, "How many centuries have been required to form a layer of *débris* forty and even forty-six and a half feet thick, from the ruins of pre-Hellenic houses, if the formation of the uppermost one, the Greek layer of six and a half feet thick, required one thousand and sixty-one years?" This question he admits to be incapable of present solution, when he replies, "During my three years' excavations in the depths of Troy I have had daily and hourly opportunities of convincing myself that, from the standard of our own or of the ancient Greek mode of life, we can form no idea of the life and doings of the four nations which successively inhabited the hill before the time of the Greek settlement."†

Equally interesting is the circumstance that Schliemann's discoveries at Troy upset the theory that *civilization* is a trustworthy index of age. So far from successive ages being clearly marked off by means of the presence of stone, copper, and iron implements, we have his testimony to the effect not only that "weapons and implements of pure copper were employed contemporaneously with enormous quantities of stone weapons and implements,"‡ but that they concur in all the four strata! The metals appear as early as the lowest stratum, several copper nails from four to six and a half inches in length being unearthed at a depth of fifty-two and a half feet.§ And, on the other hand, articles of stone are among the relics of the most recent stratum; just as in an instance quoted by the editor in the preface from the "Academy," January 9, 1875,

* Introduction, p. 14.

† *Ibid.*, *ubi supra.*

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

"a mound recently opened at the Bocenos, near Carnac, (in the Morbihan, France,) has disclosed the remains of a Gallic house of the *second century* of our era, in which *flint implements* were found, intermixed with pottery of various styles, from the most primitive to the finest examples of native Gallic art, and among all these objects was a terra-cotta head of the *Venus Anadyomene*." "Such facts as these," sensibly remarks Mr. Philip Smith, "furnish a caution against the too hasty application of the theory of the Ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron." We only need add Schliemann's own observation:

It has been hitherto thought that the occurrence of stone implements indicates the "Age of Stone." My excavations here in Troy, however, prove this opinion to be completely erroneous; for I very frequently find implements of stone even immediately below the *débris* belonging to the Greek colony, that is, at the depth of six and a half feet, and they occur in very great quantities, from a depth of thirteen feet downward. Those, however, in the Trojan stratum, from twenty-three to thirty-three feet below the surface, are in general of much better workmanship than those above.—Page 21.

This last remark calls attention to another striking fact, namely, that, instead of regular progress, the deposits at Troy bear witness to a *steady decadence*. If this were true only of the stone implements, it might naturally be accounted for by the diminishing importance and growing disuse of these in comparison with implements of metal. But it holds good of every thing else. It is the case particularly with the pottery. That of the stratum resting on the primitive soil and rock is described as far superior to that found immediately above it, and from this there is a gradual but sure decline, both in excellence of material and ornamentation.* In other words, there is nothing whatever pointing to a slow development from the savage state to higher cultivation. On the contrary, in Troy, as in many other places, it is the old that is best. Man and his works alike seem to degenerate; so that, although in utensils now fashioned in the immediate vicinity of Troy we are able to recognize many an old type—so constant are the forms even of the simplest articles—it is matter of proof that for at least thirty centuries the execution has been uninterruptedly becoming worse and worse.

* Compare pp. 14, 25, 27, 47, 170, etc.

To a majority of readers, perhaps, the smallness of the surface included within the walls still extant on the hill of Hissarlik will, at first, seem an insurmountable obstacle in the identification of the site with the "great" city, which for ten long years sustained a siege against the assembled forces of Greece. It was Schliemann's original impression that the *hill* was the *Pergamus*, or citadel, while the city extended in the plain below, and was many times as extensive. The results of his tentative excavations in various parts of the ground at the foot of the hill failed to corroborate the supposition. At length he saw himself unwillingly compelled to take up with the conclusion that city and Pergamus were one and the same thing. But this was to admit that Troy, at its greatest size, occupied a space only a little larger than the Acropolis of Athens. Now, this latter measures not more than one thousand feet in length by five hundred in extreme width; and on this contracted plateau, of about three and a half acres, not more than five thousand inhabitants could well have been crowded! To say that Schliemann was intensely disappointed at this result is only to repeat what he has himself admitted. His sober second thought, however, led him to notice that the poet's words do not require us to conceive of Troy as what would now pass for a great city; not to say that the poetic license of magnifying whatever he treats of must never be forgotten. Mr. Gladstone ("Homeric Synchronism," p. 38) has entered into a calculation to show that even this insignificant number may suit the requirements of the Iliad. He thinks that the Greek host was more likely to have been fifty thousand than one hundred and twenty thousand strong, as generally supposed, and he aptly cites the one hundred and twenty-eighth line of the second book to prove that Homer regarded the Trojans proper, inhabitants of the city, as much less than *one tenth* as numerous as the invading enemy:—

πολλαί κεν δεκάδες δενοίατο οἰνοχόοιο.

"Should Greeks and Trojans make
A treaty, faithfully to number each,
And should the Trojans count their citizens,
And we the Greeks, disposed in rows of tens,
Should call the Trojans singly to pour out
The wine for us, full many a company

Of ten would lack its cup-bearer; so far,
I judge, the sons of Greece outnumber those
Who dwell in Troy."*

It was, consequently, the allies "from many a city," as Agamemnon went on to say, that had enabled the Trojans for nine years to baffle all attempts to capture the city. And Troy itself might well rank with other primeval cities, whose celebrity is altogether incommensurate with their extent. That it was rich, and the center of a powerful state or confederacy, is sufficiently indicated by the gold and other precious material discovered almost by accident in June, 1873, just before the final suspension of Schliemann's researches, and to which, with his usual realistic tendency, he gives the designation of the "Treasure of Priam." If this had been all the treasure the princely house possessed, it might, nevertheless, have ranked among the wealthy families of an age when gold, silver, and copper were much less common than at present. But there is every reason to believe that the "Treasure" was only an insignificant fraction of the wealth of the captured city. Vastly greater hoards must have been pillaged and carried off by the Greeks, and it is only to the accidental circumstance that the flames of the burning city surprised the bearers of this store, and compelled them to abandon their burden, that we owe its preservation. The various articles bear evidence of the great heat to which they have been subjected, and some are actually welded together.†

Among the positions of minor importance assumed by Dr. Schliemann is one of considerable interest to scholars respecting the epithet *γλαυκῶπις*, so constantly applied, both in the Iliad and in the Odyssey, to the goddess Athena, or Minerva. It is well known that the exact explanation of the word has long been matter of doubt. The definition of Hedericus and Ernesti, "*cæsios* habens oculos, vel truces, adspectu terribiles, formidinem injicientes, eujusmodi sunt oculi noctuæ, quæ avis Minervæ erat consecrata," has been unpopular of late, because based upon a definition of *γλαυκός* ("glaucus, cæsius, cœruleus") for which, it is alleged, no authority can be found back of the second century before Christ. It is true, that the only time Homer used the word *γλαυκός* it is as an epithet of the *sea*,

* Bryant. † "Troy and its Remains," pp. 322–340, and plates.

and in this case certainly the term "blue" is sufficiently appropriate; though Mr. Bryant prefers to translate it "green." Patroclus says, reproachfully, to Achilles:—

γλαυκὴ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα,
πέτραι δ' ἠλίβατοι· ὅτι τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής.—Iliad, xvi, 35, 36.

"Whom wilt thou hereafter aid,
If now thou rescue not the perishing Greeks?
O merciless! it cannot surely be
That Peleus was thy father, or the queen
Thetis thy mother! the *green sea* instead
And rugged precipices brought thee forth,
For savage is thy heart." (Verses 44–46.)

But Empedocles, writing about the middle of the fifth century, in a didactic poem which we possess only in a fragmentary condition, but the genuineness of which, as Prof. Brandis, of Bonn, well observes, is attested beyond all doubt by the authority of Aristotle and other ancient writers, applies the same epithet, *γλαυκή*, to the *moon*, which could scarcely, by any stretch of the imagination, be regarded as either "green" or "blue!" Consequently, the view has been more generally adopted at present that the true signification is "bright," "gleaming," or "silvery;" and that the compound *γλαυκῶπις* indicates the brilliant, piercing glances of the lively, intellectual Minerva, the embodiment of keen-sighted intelligence.

In this view Schliemann does not acquiesce; for he thinks that he has discovered proof in his excavations of quite a different conception of this deity. In short, he fancies that the epithet *γλαυκῶπις*, applied to Athena, and the corresponding *βοῶπις*, applied to Hera, or Juno, point to a stage of religious belief far back in the past—a period when idolatry was more gross, and when, not contented with worshiping the deity by means of images bearing resemblance to the human form, the devotee bowed down to more unsightly stocks and stones. We know that, even in the palmy days of Assyrian civilization, such creations of the misguided ingennity of men were held in reverence. The explorer of the ruins of Nineveh was startled in one place by finding colossal human-headed lions or bulls guarding a portal, or bass-reliefs of the fish-god (Dagon) adorning the walls, on which the deity was represented with the scales, fins, and tail of a fish, but yet with a man's head. (Compare

plates on pages 294 and 301 of Layard's "Nineveh and Babylon.") At another spot he found the arrangement reversed. Some god (possibly Nisroch) was portrayed with a human body surmounted with the head of an eagle, (*Ibid.*, page 543.) May not such idols have been the objects of early Greek devotion? We dare not affirm it, and are not, therefore, prepared as yet to indorse Schliemann's theory. There is, however, much that renders the theory far from improbable. Assuredly there is nothing in it to justify the ridicule so lavishly poured on it when first promulgated. There can be no doubt that the Greek religion underwent a great change in the course of ages. Whether the change was morally for the better may well be questioned. For it will be admitted that public morality gained little when the most revered of gods began to be represented nude, or when the chisel of Praxiteles fashioned his Aphrodite after the model of the notorious hetæræ of his day, (C. O. Müller, "Ancient Art and its Remains," 99.) But, in an artistic point of view, the gain was sensible. The gap was great between the rude, misshapen olive-wood statue of Athena, kept so religiously in the Erechtheum, because believed to have fallen down from heaven, (Pausanias, 1, 26, 7,) and the masterpiece of Phidias, in gold and ivory, gracing the interior of the neighboring Parthenon. If the latter had to be covered at night and in tempestuous weather, to protect it from the effect of the air and moisture, the former needed to be screened from too narrow inspection, and to be decked out with paint and ornaments. These early representations of the gods, in fact, to use Müller's words, "in their whole character had decidedly more resemblance to puppets than to works of cultivated plastic art;" "they were washed, polished, painted, clothed, and had their hair dressed; they were decorated with crowns and diadems, necklaces and ear-pendants; they had their wardrobe and toilet," (*Ibid.*, 38.) But back of these rude statues there were still other and more uncouth objects of devotion of an earlier age, in which no attempt was made to portray the Deity, but only to represent him by a "symbolic sign of his presence," (*Ibid.*, 35.) For this purpose were employed rough stones, stone pillars, wooden stakes. May it not have been that, intermediate between these and the earliest attempts at portraiture under a complete human form, images were made use of,

at first in the likeness of animals, symbolizing knowledge, forethought, power, etc., and afterward retaining only the head of these animals—so much, that is to say, as sufficed to connect them with the earlier representations?

To whatever conclusion we may be inclined to come, here are the facts of Dr. Schliemann's discoveries at Troy, as stated by himself, and the inference he draws:—

At all depths from three meters (ten feet) below the surface we find a number of flat idols of very fine marble; upon many of them is the owl's face and a female girdle with dots; upon one there are in addition two female breasts. The striking resemblance of these owls' faces to those upon many of the vases and covers, with a kind of helmet on the owl's head, makes me firmly convinced that all of the idols, and all of the helmeted owls' heads, represent a goddess, and, indeed, must represent one and the same goddess. . . . The important question now presents itself: What goddess is it who is here found so repeatedly, and is, moreover, the only one to be found upon the idols, drinking cups, and vases? The answer is: She must necessarily be *the tutelary goddess of Troy*, she must be *the Ilian Athena;* and this, indeed, perfectly agrees with the statement of Homer, who continually calls her Θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη—"the goddess Athena with the owl's face." For the epithet γλαυκῶπις has been wrongly translated by the scholars of all ages, because they could not imagine that Athena should have been represented with an owl's face. The epithet, however, consists of the two words γλαῦξ and ὠπή, [rather ὤψ,] and, as I can show by an immense number of proofs, the only possible literal translation is "with an owl's face;" and the usual translation, "with blue, fiery or sparkling eyes," is utterly wrong. The natural conclusion is that, owing to progressive civilization, Athena received a human face, and her former owl's head was transformed into her favorite bird, the owl, which, as such, is unknown to Homer. The next conclusion is that the worship of Athena as the tutelary goddess of Troy was well known to Homer; hence, that a Troy existed, and that it was situated on the sacred spot the depths of which I am investigating.

In like manner, when excavations shall be made in the Heræum between Argos and Mycenæ, and on the site of the very ancient temple of Hera on the island of Samos, the image of this goddess with a cow's head will, doubtless, be found upon idols, cups, and vases; βοῶπις, the usual epithet of Hera in Homer, can originally have signified nothing else than "with the face of an ox." But as Homer also sometimes applies the epithet βοῶπις to mortal women, it is probable that even at his time it was considered to be bad taste to represent Hera, the wife of the mightiest of all the gods, with the face of an ox, and that, therefore, men even at that time began to represent her with a woman's face, but with the eyes of

an ox, that is, with very large eyes; consequently the common epithet of *βοῶπις*, which had formerly been only applied to Hera with the meaning of "with the face of an ox," now merely signified with large eyes.*

To this exposition of Dr. Schliemann's views, we may with propriety, before leaving the topic, add a few sentences from the observations of his editor, the learned Philip Smith, whose high reputation for accurate scholarship entitles his words to more than ordinary weight. He says:—

> The symbolism which embodied divine attributes in animal forms belonged unquestionably to an early form of the Greek religion, as well as to the Egyptian and Assyrian. The ram-headed Ammon, the hawk-headed Ra, the eagle-headed Nisroch, form exact precedents for an owl-headed Athena, a personation which may very well have passed into the slighter forms of owl-faced, owl-eyed, bright-eyed. Indeed, we see no other explanation of the constant connection of the owl with the goddess, which survived to the most perfect age of Greek sculpture. The question is not to be decided by an etymological analysis of the sense of *γλαυκῶπις* in the Greek authors, long after the old symbolism had been forgotten, nor even the sense which Homer may have attached to the word in his own mind. One of the most striking characters of his language is the use of *fixed epithets*, and he might very well have inherited the title of the tutelar goddess of the Ionian race with the rest of his stock of traditions. . . . We are expressing no opinion upon the accuracy of Schliemann's identification in every case; but the *rudeness* of many of his "owl-faced idols" is no stumbling-block, for the oldest and rudest sacred images were held in lasting and peculiar reverence. The Ephesian image of Artemis "which fell down from Jove" is a case parallel to what the "Palladium" of Ilium may have been.†

Schliemann's volume suggests many other topics of interest, which, were there space, we should be glad to discuss. In some cases we do not agree with the author in his deductions, in others we cannot divest ourselves of the impression that he has given undue weight to matters of doubtful value. Much of the space allotted to a very repetitious discussion, coming up again and again throughout the volume, upon the so-called *whorls*, might just as well, or better, have been devoted to some more instructive subject. A far smaller number than thirty-two plates, containing nearly two hundred distinct illustrations of this class of objects would have sufficed. The appearance upon so many of the whorls of figures bearing an indubitable

* "Troy and its Remains," p. 112, etc. † Introduction, p. xix.

resemblance to the "*Suastika*," said to be a religious symbol of the Aryan race, is certainly a curious phenomenon. Most of Schliemann's explanations of other marks found associated with the "Suastika," however, are fanciful to the last degree. We are much mistaken if what he styles "rising suns," etc., are not mere lines for decoration. As to the whorls themselves, it is certainly strange that they should be found in such great numbers, and at different depths, varying, according to figures upon the plates, from three to twelve meters, (ten to forty feet.) Their use, too, is an unsolved riddle. Schliemann repudiates the suggestion as untenable, that they served as weights to hold down the web in weaving, or as "sinkers" to the fishermen's nets. They could scarcely have been used for a primitive currency, as they are too little worn; nor as amulets, because of their inconvenient size and weight. He leans, therefore, to the conclusion that they were *ex votos*, or religious votive offerings; hence the emblem before referred to. Without pretending to pass definite judgment upon this opinion, we must say that it appears much more likely that they were intended for domestic use, and that their shape strongly suggests that they constituted part of the spindle. This well known implement as now made in the East is furnished with a disk of metal, the chief object of which is to keep up the motion imparted by twirling the spindle between the hands, or by rubbing it against the knee. The wooden stem, passing through the hole with which the whorls proper are all provided, has, of course, disappeared in the lapse of thousands of years. As every household was furnished with many specimens of an article of such absolute necessity, there is no difficulty in accounting for the great numbers of whorls found.

Dismissing, however, all subordinate questions raised by Schliemann's Troy, we must express ourselves well satisfied with the general results his discoveries point to. He has made out a good case in favor of Hissarlik's claim to be the site of the city which Homer intended by the term *Ilium*. He has proved that no other site has been adduced which shows any signs of having at any period contained a large city. On the other hand, Hissarlik *was* inhabited, and that for a period long enough to allow an enormous deposit of forty feet to accumulate. A layer of metallic *scoriæ*, throughout the hill, and

every-where traces of wood-work charred by fire, show that at least one of the four successive cities was destroyed in the way that Homer's Troy was sung by the poet to have been ruined. The city is, indeed, smaller than the poet's language might lead a reader to suppose; but that it was rich, and consequently able to secure a great number of auxiliaries, may fairly be inferred from the richness of the single collection of precious utensils, in gold, silver, electrum, and copper, which owes its preservation until our times to the apparently unpropitious circumstance of the conflagration causing its abandonment by its fugitive owner or plunderer.

Any attempt, however, to identify with close precision the localities referred to by Homer must, we fear, lead to disappointment. Schliemann does, indeed, believe that he has found the Scæan Gates in the double gate, the only entrance he has brought to light, and the Great Tower of Troy in the large defensive work, in immediate proximity to the gate, toward the east. He also designates the probable sites of the Temples of Minerva and Apollo, the latter identified by means of remains of a latter age. But, in the absence of all inscriptions belonging to the period of the Homeric Troy, we seem to lack convincing proof. Schliemann himself admits his belief that the poet was neither a native of this part of Asia, nor a contemporary of the events which he describes from mere tradition. In fact, conceding more than Mr. Gladstone, he supposes centuries to have intervened between the fall of the city and Homer—centuries during which the tragic fate of Troy had been in the mouth of all minstrels.* Add to this the certainty that the poet uses the customary liberty of all writers of epics, and embellishes his narrative when necessary to enhance the interest, and the difficulties in the way of establishing a minute correspondence between the statements of the Iliad and the discoveries will appear well nigh insurmountable.

We shall only repeat our conviction that Schliemann has rendered a great service to the cause of history and letters by the excavations, which are, upon the whole, well described, although with some repetitions and occasional obscurity, in the handsome volume before us.

* "Troy and its Remains," pp. 18, 20, 305.

Art. IV.—CASE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

Case and his Contemporaries; Being a Biographical History of Methodism in Canada, from its Introduction till the Death of the Rev. William Case. Five volumes, 12mo. By Rev. John Carroll, D.D. Toronto: Methodist Book Room, Rev. Samuel Rose.

"Elder" Case, as the principal person in these volumes was frequently designated, died in 1855. He had been identified with Methodism in Canada from an early date, having spent more than half a century in its ministry. As his friends did not publish any biography respecting him, Dr. Carroll conceived the idea of preparing a work in which Case should be the central figure, and all his contemporaries who had been in the ranks should be briefly sketched, making a kind of itinerants' memorial, comprising all the events of Methodism in Canada during the first half century of its existence.

The amount of labor which the author has performed is prodigious, and we should think that but few could undergo the sacrifices which he has endured to make the work complete. Like many who have labored in the fields of literature, Dr. Carroll must regard his work as a labor of love, for he will never receive such remuneration as will be a compensation for his toil. Works of this kind are not sufficiently appreciated. Posterity will understand their worth better than the present generation.

The history of Methodism in Canada* possesses many features of thrilling interest. Its beginning was small, but its progress has been marvelous, while its present position may well excite gratitude. "The Lord hath done great things for us whereof we are glad." Three local preachers, two of whom belonged to the British Army, unknown to each other, were the first to raise the banner of Methodism on Canadian ground. In 1790 William Losee began his labors in what was known as the Bay Quinte Country. Many of the settlers were United Empire Loyalists, who had left the United States at the close of the Revolutionary War, and endured indescribable hardships in making themselves homes in the wilderness, where they were like sheep having no shepherd. The names of

* We use the word in its old acceptation, comprising the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec.

those pioneers deserve honorable mention, though none were more worthy than the Detlors, the Lawrences, the Emburys, and the Hecks, some of whom had the honor of laying the foundations of Methodism both in the United States and Canada.

Losee was a man of dauntless courage, indomitable perseverance, and great power in prayer. When any of "the sons of Belial" did not act with proper decorum, he would suddenly stop and exclaim, "My God, smite them!" and in several instances the offenders were smitten to the ground, and cried for mercy. During the first year he organized five classes, one of which was in Adolphustown, and was formed on the very day that the founder of Methodism died. True, Losee was only a preacher on trial in connection with the New York Conference, still his labors were greatly blessed. He was a faithful man, though some of his reproofs would hardly be tolerated at the present day. In one of his sermons he referred to the foolish practice of following the fashions in respect to dress, and said that he "verily believed that if it were fashionable to wear a half bushel on the head some Methodists would adopt it." For four years Mr. Losee labored in season and out of season, and then returned to the United States, where he died in the triumph of faith.

Darius Dunham was the first regular minister who came to Canada. He was well qualified for the work assigned him, as he was not only a good preacher, but understood well how to organize societies. His faithfulness occasionally brought him into trouble with delinquents, who styled him "scolding Dunham." He traveled only ten years, and was the first presiding elder. His name, and that of Joseph Jewell, who succeeded him, are still gratefully remembered. Calvin Wooster was among the early preachers who came to Canada, and though in seven years he became incapacitated for the labors of the itinerancy, his name will never be forgotten. When worn down with consumption, so that he could not speak aloud, his "whispering sermons" converted some who were privileged to hear him. His death was most glorious; one of his last sayings was, that "the nearer he drew to eternity, the brighter heaven shone upon him."

William Case, of whom our author desires particularly to

write, was born in Massachusetts, August, 1780. The famous "Old Bay State" has long been renowned for its excellent educational system; but at that date there were few schools or seats of learning. Case, however, enjoyed their advantages, and became a good penman, so that he was well qualified for the office of Conference Secretary, a position which he held for several years, when only few of his brethren could fill that position. His family removed to New York State, where he was converted when he was twenty-three years of age, and in two years afterwards he was exhorter and local preacher, and was recommended to the New York Conference as a suitable candidate for the itinerant work. The Conference was then very large, as it comprised all the "Empire State," some portions of New England, and the Canadas. Mr. Case states in his Jubilee Sermon that he only had two sermons when he entered the ministry. He felt very timid, and was the subject of peculiar emotions as he journeyed to Canada. Once he dismounted from his horse, and wept and prayed. These words were impressed upon his mind, "I will go before thee, and will prepare the hearts of the people to receive thee; and thou shalt have fathers and mothers and children in that land."

There were at that time only few preachers in Canada. Some of them became men of eminence, and are worthy of honorable mention. Henry Ryan was then a young man of great zeal, and for many years performed noble work among the Canadians. Bishop Hedding, with whom he traveled a circuit in Vermont, esteemed him very highly, and often spoke of him as "the brave Irishman." They could only meet occasionally, and when he did Ryan would generally salute his colleague thus: "Drive on, brother; drive the devil out of the country; drive him into the lake and drown him." Ryan became presiding elder; some regarded him as ambitious to rule in the Church, and he was so impetuous that he could not bear the least opposition. For years he desired to have a Conference formed in Canada, and then sought to have an entire separation from the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and because this could not be immediately granted he agitated the societies and made divisions, and finally became the head of a separate body, long known as the Ryanites. All

must regret that one whose labors had been so abundant, and who had done so much good, should pursue a course which was attended with so much disaster, and which must have been the cause of bitter grief to Ryan himself. Had he been less precipitate he might have been honored to his dying day as one of the most illustrious men ever connected with the Methodist Church in Canada.

Nathan, afterward Dr., Bangs, was one of Case's contemporaries. He also was indebted to New England common schools for his education, and came to Canada to follow the profession of land surveyor. He, however, was converted under the labors of James Coleman, and became so renowned that he filled every office in the Church except that of Bishop, and died full of years and honors. His labors as a missionary were attended with many hardships, and even when stationed in what is now known as the city of Quebec he had such privations to endure as would astonish persons at the present day. Though after a few years he returned to the United States, he never ceased to take deep interest in all the affairs of Canadian Methodism.

We may mention a few instances of the hardships of those early pioneers. James Coleman, when traveling up the Mohawk River, slept fifteen nights in the woods, and built fires to keep off the beasts that roamed in the locality. Seth Crowell slept in the woods near where Brighton now stands, and set up a stone, and inscribed upon it with his knife, "Holiness to the Lord." Thomas Whitehead and family came to Niagara from Albany in an open boat, and were six weeks on the journey, and during all this time they subsisted on *boiled wheat.* Robert Hibbard was drowned in the Richelieu River while crossing a ferry, and his body was not found until several weeks had elapsed. J. G. Peal, having to cross Hay Bay in order to reach his evening appointment, found that the ice was too weak to bear his horse. He therefore put the animal in care of a friend, and walked across the bay without his boots, as in no other way could he tread the slippery pavement. He went to his lodgings after service, but he had taken such a cold that an alarming illness seized him, and in a few days he died. His remains are interred near Odessa, in passing which the writer has often raised his hat in honor of the illustrious

dead. John Dempster, afterward Dr. Dempster,* the famous missionary to Buenos Ayres, South America, and the founder of biblical schools, commonly called theological colleges, commenced his labors on the St. Lawrence Circuit, which was "a vast field, and most of it a wilderness. During the cold season his horse broke down, and he went to his appointments on foot. His boots gave out, but he went on still, his feet constantly wet with snow-water, nothing daunted, to fill his appointments. His soul blazed, while his poor body shivered and withered under hardships too terrible for humanity to endure. The next Conference found him in a broken-down condition."

Mr. Case endured a good share of the hardships and inconveniences connected with the pioneer work of Methodism in Canada. At an early period he was made presiding elder, and at one time his district comprised the greater part of the country now known as the London Conference. There were no railways and but few steamboats, even in summer. All his journeys were performed on horseback, and, as he did not enter the state of matrimony until he was nearly fifty years of age, he had no certain dwelling-place. He was beloved by the people, and was always a welcome guest wherever he might choose to take up his abode. Still, it is astonishing how he could keep up an extensive correspondence, act as a kind of general superintendent, and provide means for carrying on the work of God in the country with such accommodations as he possessed. For many years there was no Missionary Society and no Book Room. The Book Agents at New York intrusted him with books for the missionaries and others, and looked to him for returns, so that his duties were exceedingly multifarious, and were often a source of much perplexity.

One of his associates† in the old Genesee Conference thus wrote respecting him:—

> Scarce any other member in old Genesee was more widely known or more generally beloved. Though in the pulpit he was by no means remarkable, his executive talent was of a high order, and he knew how to plan as well as how to execute. As presiding elder he was among the very best. His wakeful eye swept a broad field, and he always knew how to select the more salient points. The mission was projected and the circuit formed at just the right

* "Methodist Quarterly Review," 1864, p. 361.

† George Peck, D.D., "Methodist Quarterly Review," 1860, p. 599.

time and place. If a church was to be erected, he was the right man to consult. He took his pocket rule with him into the pulpit, and often at the close of a service would measure heights and distances in and about it, so as to be prepared to give advice elsewhere. Nothing that concerned either the temporal or spiritual good of the Church within his appropriate field escaped his observation. Practical wisdom was his distinguishing characteristic. His zeal to do good knew no bounds. Sacrifice, and trial, and suffering, so far from being appalling, were his supreme delight. He counted not his life dear, if he might but extend the triumphs of Immanuel's reign.

Dr. Carroll says:—

Our subject had a well-cultivated mind, and was really an accomplished Christian gentleman. A more agreeable companion is, indeed, seldom found. He mingled cheerfulness with gravity, and the playfulness of the child with the wisdom of the sage. With a sanctified heart, a polished intellect, a fine person, and a musical voice, he was fit to mingle in any society. Such a man could not fail to have warmly attached friends, and no man certainly ever better deserved to have them.

Though Case held a ready pen, he did not write largely. His migratory habits would not admit of it. Till the last few years of his life, when his labors were comparatively local, he was almost continually on the move. Emphatically may it be said of him—more so, perhaps, than of most other itinerants—"he had no certain dwelling-place." Still he wrote frequently for our Church periodicals, and will be found by the future historian to have contributed much that cannot fail to be of permanent value to coming generations.

In 1824 a Conference was formed in Canada, which was permitted by the General Conference of 1828 to become independent. The episcopal form of government was retained, but the persons nominated for Bishop declined to act; therefore Mr. Case was really Bishop *pro tem.* He served in that capacity for four years, and was an able executive officer. His mild manner, his extensive knowledge of Methodist usage, and his general urbanity, were of great service to him.

The Wesleyans in England had for some years sustained a mission in Canada, but in 1820, by a mutual agreement, Upper Canada was left in charge of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Lower Canada was wholly given to the Wesleyan missionaries. For a time this arrangement answered well, but emigrants from England were constantly settling in Upper Canada, and by their repeated solicitations English missionaries were again sent to the country. As a matter of course, un-

seemly strife followed, but in 1832 the Canada Conference united with the English Conference on such a plan as was deemed equitable and honorable to all parties, so that a career of prosperity was anticipated. But alas! the changes made, particularly in relation to withholding ordination from local preachers, was the cause of many years' strife. A few of this class of persons and a superannuated minister met together about a year after the union, and formed themselves into a Conference, and claimed to be the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada. Litigation respecting Church property followed, but in no instance did the dissentients gain a single case.

The union with the English Conference was, unhappily, broken off in 1840, but in 1847 it was renewed, and continued until 1874, when the parent Conference agreed to dissolve the connection, and the present Methodist Church of Canada was formed, embracing the Wesleyan Conferences of Canada and Eastern British America, and the Conference of the late Methodist New Connection.

Elder Case, though an American by birth, was a true lover of English Methodism, and during the years of separation he remained with the few who preferred the connection with the English Conference. His course in thus acting was inexplicable to many; but, though there was occasional bitterness between some who had been allied to each other, none could charge him with acting otherwise than as the Christian gentleman.

Mr. Case will always be best known as the father of Indian missions. For many years he, like others, sighed over the degradation of the native tribes, and many a time did he pray for an open door among those poor aborigines. In 1823 Peter Jones, of blessed memory, was converted at a camp-meeting held at Ancaster. He was a half Indian, and when made a new creature Mr. Case exclaimed, "Bless God, the door is now open to the Indian tribes!" This was a true propheey, for now began a most glorious work among the native population. Peter Jones became known every-where, and, in company with Mr. Case, he visited many places in the United States for the purpose of raising means to carry on the work of God among this people. Some of the chiefs became the subjects of saving grace; among others who became prominent among their brethren may be mentioned Thomas Davis, Peter Jacobs, John

Sunday, William Herkimer, Abraham Sickles, Allan Salt, Henry Stienhaur, and others. Schools were established, and translations of the Scriptures in due time were made, toward which noble work the Bible Society rendered much valuable aid. Mr. Case was ably assisted in this important work by Messrs. E. Ryerson, J. Evans, J. Stinson, T. Hurlburt, and others; but for many years the labor chiefly devolved upon him. His correspondence, some of which we have read, reveals the deep anxiety which he felt for the poor Indians, and how his whole soul was absorbed concerning their welfare. During one of his visits to the United States he was in company with Bishop George, who called upon him to pray, and Mr. Case could not pray about any thing else than the work of God among the Indians. In speaking of the circumstance some time afterward, the Bishop said it seemed as though Elder Case forgot all about white people, and prayed as though the Indians were the only people possessed of souls.

The work among the Indians excited great interest both in England and America. The visits of Peter Jones, Peter Jacobs and John Sunday to the father-land awakened a deep sympathy for their mission. The writer, then a boy, remembers how the largest places of worship were crowded to their utmost capacity, while all classes of the community, from royalty downward, were greatly interested. Mr. Case was now full of gladness, and when the missions were established in Hudson's Bay Territory he rejoiced with exceeding joy, because increasing efforts were thus put forth on behalf of the Indian tribes.

The poor Indians revered him as a father. His patience with their slow progress and his gentleness endeared him to all the tribes. His manner was captivating, and at the same time instructive, though he knew how to give a gentle reproof. With a view to instruct them in the ordinary affairs of life he used to hold an "inquiry meeting," at which he encouraged them to ask questions concerning any point on which he had discoursed. On one occasion Job was the subject. His case greatly interested the natives, who seemed to regard his vast possessions of sheep, camels, oxen, and asses, as really fabulous. When their curiosity was fully aroused, the teacher said, "Suppose Job should pay you a visit, and walk around among you,

and look at the way you farm, and look at your cows, and oxen, and pigs, what do you think he would say?" "Don't know. What you think he say?" "Well, I think he would shake his head, and say, 'This catching *musk-rat* is a small business!'" The reproof was felt, though none were offended; but it became a proverb among them—"catching musk-rat is a small business."

From 1828 to 1855 Elder Case might be said to be almost wholly devoted to the mission among the Indians. For fourteen years he was principal of one of the Industrial Schools, and during the last three years of his life he was left at leisure to labor as he thought proper. "At least fourteen bands of wandering pagans were converted." The work was often very disconraging, by reason of close proximity to the whites, whose conduct was the cause of much injury to the poor natives of the forest. Had they been colonized on the north shore of Lake Superior, as was recommended by Lord Elgin and others, and could they have been kept wholly distinct and separate from the whites, there is no doubt that now they would have presented a much better appearance than they do. The white man's vices have been their ruin; yet hundreds became the recipients of saving grace and died triumphing in Jesus. Many of them will be Mr. Case's crown of rejoicing in heaven.

The various events at which we have thus briefly glanced are detailed at great length by our author, but space prevents our entering into more minute particulars. As Dr. Carroll was an actor in the scenes, and took deep interest in all the affairs of Methodism, his narratives may be depended upon. The third volume, which contains a condensed account of Methodism during the eventful years of 1824–1835, is a most valuable book of reference, and all who wish to become thoroughly acquainted with Methodism in Canada during those exciting years would do well to read this portion of our author's record, which is truly an embodiment of facts with which all interested in the subject would do well to make themselves familiar.

The Methodists in Canada have always been strong advocates for the unification of Methodism. The population of the country for many years was necessarily much scattered; consequently, the ordinances of religion could not be maintained but at a great outlay of men and means. Hence, when rival altars were

erected in close proximity to those already established, it could not but be the occasion of much grief to those who desired that there should be no schism in the body. The union with the British Conference, therefore, was hailed generally with delight, the advantages of which were soon seen, inasmuch as some able ministers were sent out, and a large amount of pecuniary assistance was rendered. The pulpit and administrative labors of Revs. R. Alder, D.D.; G. Marsden; W. M. Harvard, D.D.; J. Dixon, D.D.; J. Stinson, D.D.; M. Richey, D.D.; W. Lord; W. L. Thornton; E. Wood, D.D.; and W. Morley Punshon, LL.D., could not but prove highly acceptable, and tend to the establishment and extension of Methodism in the country. True, some of those ministers only remained a short time in Canada, but the remembrance of them is still fragrant. Dr. Stinson was abundant in labors as general superintendent and afterward president of Conference. Dr. Punshon gave a great impetus to all the affairs of the Church. Under his administration the endowment of Victoria College was inaugurated, the Metropolitan Church was built in Toronto, and the mission to Japan was commenced. Drs. Richey and Wood still, happily, linger among us, though the former has long been incapacitated for labor; but the latter is still vigorous, and has been permitted to see many great improvements in Methodism. He was president of Conference eight years, and has dedicated a greater number of churches than any other minister in Canada, and, though he is now in the fifty-first year of his ministry, he has always been connected with the mission work.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Methodists in Canada were so enamored with their British associations as to forget their former friends. Far from it. They feel that they can never repay their debt of obligation to the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States. The pioneer Bishop, Asbury, made a tour through a portion of the country just before the war of 1812, and was greatly pleased with his visit, and entertained great hopes of the future. Others of the Bishops, as George and Hedding, presided at Conferences held in Canada, and were always most cordially welcomed both by ministers and people. Bishop George once presided at a Conference held at Elizabethtown, when such an

outpouring of the Holy Spirit took place as had never been witnessed on any similar occasion. A great number of conversions took place, in consequence of which this memorable event was always spoken of as "the Revival Conference." From the time of the separation, in 1828, there has been the most cordial feeling between the two bodies, which have reciprocated several fraternal visits with each other.

Mr. Case, by reason of his extensive knowledge of the societies in Canada, became acquainted with many young men such as were likely to become useful in the Church, and soon brought them to his aid. In this way the three brothers, Revs. John, William, and Egerton, Ryerson, were called into the work. The first and last still remain in the Church militant, in which they have performed invaluable service. William has gone to his reward after serving his generation faithfully. Egerton has been the most versatile. His powerful pen has often been wielded on behalf of the Church of his youth; not a few of the privileges which it now enjoys are to be attributed to his polemical skill; while his labors in the State, as the organizer of our public school system, have been of such a character as to have stamped his impress largely upon the country. The Church honored him by making him president of the first General Conference, in 1874. Anson Green, D.D., who entered the ministry about the same time as his life-long friend, Dr. Ryerson, has been very conspicuous in the Church, having been president of Conference on two different occasions, and for many years Book Steward. The brothers Hurlburt, four of whom have been in the ministry, may also be mentioned here. Elder Case was much attached to all those honored brethren, besides numerous others whom he also induced to enter the active work. Considering the few educational advantages which the country afforded, it is marvelous that so many of the coadjutors of Mr. Case became such able ministers of the New Testament. They read well the standards of Methodist theology, and, by reason of almost constant preaching, they became clear expounders of the Scriptures. Among others may be mentioned F. Metcalf, A. Prindell, H. Wilkinson, G. Ferguson, W. Chamberlayne, T. Madden, R. Jones, J. Carroll, D.D., W. Jeffers, D.D., J. Richardson, D.D., afterwards bishop of the M. E. Church, Canada, and a host of others.

The tide of emigration brought some young men of promise to the shores of Canada, whom Elder Case was not slow to lay his hands upon and assure them that the Lord had need of them. Two brothers, Revs. J. and E. Evans, deserve honorable mention under this head. It is worthy of remark that they and the eloquent Cookman, who was lost in the unfortunate "President," when crossing the Atlantic, were local preachers together in England, and frequently met for mutual counsel, and afterward spent many years in preaching the Gospel in the western world. The Rev. J. Evans was the founder of missions in Hudson's Bay Territory, and invented the syllabic character, which has been of immense value to all who have since labored to propagate the Gospel among the natives of that land. The younger of the two, Ephraim, now Dr. Evans, became editor of the *Christian Guardian*, and had the honor of being the first missionary to British Columbia, where he labored for nine years as the pioneer in that country.

Mr. Case and his contemporaries felt the need of providing educational facilities for the youth of the country, including the rising ministry. At an early period they held many conversations upon the subject, and in correspondence with those who were connected with collegiate institutions he sought to elicit such information as would aid them in the enterprise. The institution now known as Victoria University was at first established as an academy, and then as a college, with university powers. Its value to Canada has never been duly appreciated. Many sacrifices have been endured by those connected with that seat of learning. Case and his associates often taxed their own limited allowances that they might keep the college afloat, and when Parliament granted Methodist ministers the privilege to solemnize matrimony, they generously contributed all the fees which they might thus receive to the funds of the college. The original cost was $30,000, a large sum for those days. Dr. Richey was the first principal, and Dr. Ryerson the first president.

In the same way they sought to establish a weekly journal, which has long been known as the *Christian Guardian*. One of Case's *protégés*, Rev. E. Ryerson, was the first editor, and in its columns he wrote those burning words which had so

much to do in molding the character of the country, and promoting the rights of all classes of the community. These self-sacrificing men were also among the first to advocate the cause of temperance. They exhorted their people to shun the intoxicating draught, and during all the years of the temperance campaign, Methodist ministers and their people have always been associated with those who maintained unceasing warfare against the evils of intemperance.

It was often asserted by Mr. Wesley, that whenever the subject of holiness or perfect love was extensively preached a revival was almost sure to follow. The truth of this saying has often been verified in the history of Methodism. Dr. Carroll has recorded several instances of this kind. The camp-meetings were seasons of great spiritual power, and gave an impetus to the work of God, particularly in new places. If sinners were not converted and believers sanctified, there were great searchings of heart, and many inquiries were made as to why such a strange occurrence should befall the Church. Revivals were frequent, not as the result of employing any special evangelist, —for such an agency was unknown in the early periods of Methodism—but as the result of the pious toils of the preachers in charge, who labored in the confident expectation of seeing sinners converted and the borders of Zion extended. The Conference of 1855 was the last which the venerable Case attended. According to previous arrangement, he then preached a jubilee sermon. He was seventy-five years of age, and was a fine specimen of the aged minister, but was still vigorous, and none supposed that it was the last time he would appear among his brethren. For more than an hour he gave them an account of the past, and as he detailed the straits and sufferings of many of the early settlers, and reviewed the labors of those who had ministered unto them in holy things, when roads were almost impassable, and churches of the humblest character hardly had an existence, many tears of joy were shed for the great things which God had done for his Church. A few months afterward this apostle to the Indians sustained an injury by a fall as he was mounting his horse, from which he never fully recovered. In the month of October, 1855, he passed away, and was laid in the burial ground at Alderville, amid the sobs and tears of many of his brethren and friends,

and numerous Indians, who wept at the decease of one to whom they were under such lasting obligations.

His name will never be forgotten. A marble tablet is erected to his memory in Bridge-street Church, Belleville, and a monument has been built at his grave by his brethren in the ministry.

How great the changes in Methodism during Mr. Case's career! When he came to Canada there were seven circuits, ten preachers, and sixteen hundred and forty-nine members in society, and seven churches, none of which were finished. At the time of his death there were two hundred and ten circuits and missions, three hundred and thirty itinerants, and thirty-eight thousand members; numerous costly churches, an extensive Book Room, a popular University, and a Missionary Society with an income of $38,000. He knew more than two hundred ministers who had been converted in Canada, some of whom were Indians.

We have read these interesting volumes on Case and his contemporaries with great pleasure. We are astonished at the author's industry in searching among old documents, performing toilsome journeys, and writing an almost incalculable number of letters, to ascertain particulars respecting some thirteen hundred contemporaries of the Rev. William Case. No name has been omitted, and, though it would be impossible but that mistakes must occur in such a work in which so many details are given, we think it will be found singularly free from inaccuracies. "Case and his Contemporaries" will be a valuable book of reference to all who wish to become acquainted with the men who have labored in the Methodist Church in Canada during the first half century of its existence. May the venerable author receive ample reward for his labor of love!

Art. V.—EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

[Second Paper.]

IV. *Probable Reconstruction.*—All the schemes for readjusting the Egyptian chronology may be reduced to essentially two. The earliest was that adopted by the Christian chronographers who have handed down Manetho's lists. They simply added together his numbers, with such modifications as they found necessary in order to accommodate their own systems. Substantially the same method has been pursued by modern German Egyptologists in general, but with the additional complication of the recently deciphered inscriptions.* The result of this process, which we may designate as the *continuous* plan, has been, in both cases, as we have seen, the production of different sets of chronologies, which agree in scarcely any thing except their enormous extravagance of length.† The

*The latest and most pretentious (yet, we are constrained to say, the most obviously preposterous and artificial) attempt in this direction is that made by Dr. H. Brugsch ("*Geschichte Aegyptens*"—Leipz., 1877, 8vo., pp. 818,) who, acting on the hint of Herodotus, (ii, 142,) to which, however, Brugsch does not refer, gravely *estimates* uniformly three reigns of equal length to every hundred years, and accordingly dates (without the least regard to the numbers either of Manetho or the monuments) all the reigns of the first twenty-one dynasties regularly in each century, after the following formula, (pp. 765–770:)

————————, .. B. C. 00
————————, .. " 66
————————, .. " 33
————————, .. " 00

He even pursues this arbitrary method with dynasties eighteen to twenty-four, respecting which we have many contemporaneous data positively proving its falsity. (He says "*geb.*," that is, *born*, but he evidently means *reigned*.)

This is a most *naïve* illustration of what Mr. Joseph Cook calls the method of "small philosophers," namely, "to guess at the half, and then multiply by two!" Brugsch literally *guesses at the third, and then multiplies by three.*

Dr. Brugsch frankly avows (p. 40) that "no mortal can at present resolve the difficulties arising from the fragmentary condition of the Turin Papyrus, so as to reconstruct the list of kings."

† Brugsch assigns the kingdom of Egypt an antiquity of B. C. 4,455 or 4,400, and some of his fellow-countrymen a still greater, (as Böck, B. C. 5,702; Unger, B.C. 5,613.) But these high figures are contradicted by a singular mathematical evidence of the comparatively recent formation of Egypt itself. That country has literally been created by the gradual deposition of the mud of the Nile, as Herodotus has remarked. (History, ii, 5.). Now, the annual inundation deposits this at a very uniform rate, which has been calculated, as the re-

NASTIES.

: the numerals appended to the and those in the second column

Tanites.	Bubastites.	Related Hebrew Events.
		End of flood. Mizraim.
		Abraham in Egypt.
		Joseph sold.
		Joseph promoted.
		Removal to Egypt.

CHRONOLOGICAL HARMONY OF THE EARLY EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES.

N. B.—The heavy-faced Roman numerals designate the dynasties: several names indicate the length of the respective reigns; from the monuments.

the dates B. C. are those of the beginning of each reign: the numerals appended to the those in the first column being selected from Manetho, and those in the second column

B. C. about	Thinites.	Memphites.	Elephantinites.	Heracleopolites.	Diospolites.	Xoites.	Shepherds.	Tanites.	Bubastites.	Related Hebrew Events.
										End of Book of Miraclus
7461	I. Menes..... 62	III. Necherophes.. 28								
7399		Tosorthrus.. 29								
7355										
7335	Athothis.... 57									
7278	Cenkenes.... 31	Tyreis..... 7								
7241		Mesochris.. 17								
7224		Solophis..... 16								
7208	Ouenephes.... 23									
7185		Cerpheres..... 19								
7166	Ouaphaes.... 20									
7146		IV. Soris..... 13								
7133	Miebidos..... 26									
7107		Tosertasis..... 6								
7101		Aches..... 7								
7094		Zephouris..... 56								
7038	Semempses.. 18									
7020		Souphis I..... 33								
6987	Binecheres .. 34									
6953		Souphis II..... 23								
6930	II. Bethos..... 54									
6876			V. Nuncheres..... 1							
6875		Menecheres. 23?								
6852			Rathures..... 12							
6840			Kephrecheres 20							
6828										
6816	Caicheos..... 39									
6777		Rhatoises.... 25								
6752			Sfalies..... 7							
6745			Chesos..... 10							
6735			Rhathures.... 13							
6722	Binothris..... 47									
6675		Biopheres..... 18								
6657			Mouchures..... 8							
6649			Lachores..... 28							
6621		Sebercheres..... 7								
6614		Thamphthis..... 9								
6605		VI. Others..... 59								
6596										
6587										
6578			Ommes..... 36							
6569										
6560	Tlas..... 17									
6543		Pilios..... 20								
6526	Sethenes.... 41									
6505		Methousophis.. 14								
6491		Phiops..... 90								
6477										
6463										
6449						XI. 16 Kings..... 43					
6435										
6421								XV. Salees.... 19		
6407										
6393								Buon..... 38		
6379						XII. Amenemes I.... 16				
6365								Pachnan..... 40		
6351						Sesenchosis..... 46				
6337										
6323								Aphobis..... 60		
6309						Amenemes II..... 48				
6295										
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other mode of treating these two classes of records, which, for convenience' sake, we may term the *parallelistic* one, employed by the English Egyptologists—being substantially that of Poole, as originally suggested by Lane—is a far more critical procedure. A careful analysis of the ancient documents and a laborious comparison of the monumental records reveal the fact that many of the reigns were CONTEMPORANEOUS with each other, not only with respect to individual princes, but whole dynasties.* This greatly reduces the aggregate length of the entire period, and enables us to bring it within the compass of authentic history.

We might have suspected this fact *a priori*, from the discrepancy often occurring between the totals given by Manetho as the duration of the several dynasties, and the actual footing up of the numbers. For example: we have seen in the first dynasty the caption assigns a length of 253 (variations, 258, 252, 226) years, while the actual aggregate is 263 (variations, 247, 230) years. So of other dynasties. In like manner Manetho sums up the several sections of his list differently from the amount of their respective aggregates; and his grand total is stated at 3,555 years, whereas the actual sum of all his reigns is 5,462. The only way to explain this so as to save his credit at all is to make not only individual reigns, but whole dynasties, more or less contemporary with each other.

salt of several careful and independent examinations, to be .4134 of a foot per century. Again, repeated excavations in various parts of Egypt show that this deposit is nowhere over 26¼ feet deep, *sea-sand* being invariably discovered underlying it. Therefore, Egypt, as a habitable land, is not older than B.C. 4,500, having been covered anterior to that date at furthest by the waters of the Mediterranean up to the first cataract. (De Lanoye's "Rameses the Great," pp. 30, 31.) Herodotus expressly states that in the time of Menes, the first king, it was a complete swamp below Thebes, (ii, 4.) That the above-mentioned stratum of sand was originally the head or shore of a *salt* sea is proved by the fact that wells sunk anywhere in the alluvial plain, even of Thebes, yield very brackish water only. (Klunzinger. Upper Egypt, p. 136,) while the Nile water is proverbially sweet. Herodotus long ago shrewdly observed that "the country above Memphis seems formerly to have been an arm of the sea," (ii, 10,) and he speaks of the saline acridity of the soil, (ii, 12.) The Delta, however, is not a marine formation. (Rawlinson, Herodotus, ii, 5, note.)

* One of the latest and most expert French Egyptologists, M. de Rougé, candidly admits that the earlier dynasties in the lists of Manetho merely represent sovereigns of a part of the country, contemporary with other Pharaohs. ("Recherches," p. 4; "Exposé," p. 17.)

This appears still more conclusively on a detailed examination.*

The following are the most important evidences of this coincidence in time among these regnal years. In the first dynasty Menes reigned, according to Africanus, 62 years, but according to Eusebius, only 30; his son, Athothis, 57, (Afric.,) or 27, (Euseb.,) and grandson, Cenchenes, 31, (Afric.,) or 39, (Euseb.) In the third dynasty the first king, Necherophes, (Euseb., Necherochis,) reigned (according to both authors) 28 years, and his son, Tosorthros, (Euseb., Sosorthros,) 29. Now, Athothis and Tosorthros, or Soserthros, seem to be only orthographical variations of the same name, and if we suppose that after Menes had established his kingdom for thirty-two years at This he associated his son Athothis with him upon the throne for the remaining thirty years of his life, we have an explanation of the apparent discrepancy in the length of his reign. Again, Athothis surviving his father twenty-seven years, we have the discrepancy in his years also explained. Once more, if upon the association of Athothis with his father, Necherophes (perhaps another son or a grandson) was placed at the head of the newly formed province of Memphis, and ruled there for twenty-eight years, on his decease Athothis may naturally have united both crowns in himself for the remainder of his life, which would be the twenty-nine years required. The subjoined table will make this clear:—

I. Thinites.		III. Memphites.	
Menes alone	32		
" jointly	30		
	62	Necherophes	28
Athothis jointly	30	Athothis viceroy	2
" alone	27	" alone	27
	57		29

It thus appears that the first and the third dynasties were parallel in time, and intimately associated in rule; that, in fact, they were but co-ordinate branches of one government. The same is, doubtless, the case with the second and the fourth dynasties, so far as their respective duration admitted, for they

* Palmer ("Egyptian and Sacred Chronology Harmonized"—London: 1861, two vols., 8vo.) has elaborately compared the ancient chronographies, but his corrections and emendations of Manetho, although highly ingenious, are to an equal degree conjectural and problematical.

evidently followed immediately upon the others severally, being classified according to the two capitals already seen to be established. Nor are we left to mere probability, for the name of the fourth king of the second dynasty is actually found in connection with that of some of the earlier kings of the fourth dynasty. For a similar reason we might presume that the sixth, seventh, and eighth dynasties were consecutive (although Poole introduces an interval before the sixth) with the fourth, and there is confirmation of this view in the coincidences which will presently be adduced.

That the former part, at least, of the fifth dynasty was contemporaneous with the fourth is proved by the fact that the names of the first four kings occur in inscriptions along with those of the fourth dynasty. We might, as above, have presumed such a parallelism from the difference in the capital after which this dynasty is named. Poole supposes that this (fifth) dynasty contained many more names than Manetho's list gives, but this is immaterial for our present purpose.

The ninth dynasty (with its sequent, the tenth) establishes several important coincidences, its kings being found in juxtaposition with those of the sixth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth dynasties. Thus the tablet in the "Hall of Ancestors" at Karnak has, if Poole has rightly arranged it, the following associations:—

No. in Tablet.	Manetho. Dyn.	No.	No. in Tablet.	Manetho. Dyn.	No.
1	XI.	..	17	IX.	..
2	"	..	18	"	..
3	"	..	19	"	..
4	"	..	20	"	..
5	"	..	21	VI.	1
6	"	..	22	"	4
7	"	..	23	"	5
8	XII.	1	..	"	6
9	XI.	17	24	XV.	1
10	XII.	2	25	"	2
11	"	3	26	"	3
12	"	4	27	"	4
..	"	5	28	"	5
13	"	6	29	"	?6
14	"	7	30	(?) XIII.	?1
15	IX.	1	31	"	?2
16	"	..			

There are, also, the following definite synchronisms between different dynasties occurring on various inscriptions: Sonphis I. (of dynasty four) with Ousercheres, (of dynasty five;) Pepi, (of

dynasty six,) contemporary with Ra-skenen, (of dynasty eleven;) Mentoph II., (middle of dynasty nine,) with Amunemhet I., (first of dynasty twelve.) Poole thinks he has also positive evidence of the synchronism of Oanos, of dynasty five, with Assa, (Staan,) of dynasty fifteen; and he has, therefore, supposed many unnamed kings to belong to the middle of the latter dynasty. Other coincidences of a like kind occur, but have been attributed to alterations by later hands.*

We have had reason above to suspect that kings of the *same* dynasty sometimes ruled contemporaneously. This is positively proved in several late instances by their names being placed together on the monuments. For example, the two Sufis of the fourth dynasty reigned together; Enteph I. or II. (of dynasty nine) is associated with Mentoph I., (of the same dynasty;) the forty-fourth year of Osirtesen I. (dynasty twelve) was coincident with the second of Amunemhet II., (dynasty twelve;) and the thirty-fifth of Amunemhet II. with the third of Osirtesen II. All these joint rulerships serve to abbreviate the chronology, as is seen by comparing Manetho's numbers

* The Sallier papyrus in the British Museum (translated in Bagster's "Records of the Past," vol. viii, p. 311) states that Raskenen, apparently Sesonchosis, the second prince of the twelfth [Theban] dynasty, was king of Upper Egypt during the rule of Rapepi, one of the Shepherd kings at Avaris, (evidently Aphobis, the third prince of the fifteenth [Hycsos] dynasty.) In our adjustment their reigns synchronize for nine years, (B. C. 1914–05.)

A tablet found at Tanis states that a period of 400 years elapsed between the reign of Sete, one of the Shepherd kings, and that of Rameses II., of the nineteenth dynasty. But the value of this chronological indication is neutralized by the evidently round number (four centuries) employed, and the uncertainty who is meant by the Sete referred to. Birch thinks it was Saites, the first of the fifteenth dynasty, ("Egypt from the Monuments," p. 132, Am. ed.) But this is impossible; for, as the Shepherds were expelled by the eighteenth dynasty, we would certainly have an interval of more than seven centuries. A translation of the inscription is given in "Records of the Past," vol. iv, p. 36; but it does not justify Birch's interpretation, the name of the Shepherd king in question being there read *Sutaapehpeh.*

Canon Cook (in "The Speaker's Commentary," vol. i, p. 448, Am. ed.) will have it that this Raskenen was the immediate predecessor of Amosis I., (of the eighteenth dynasty,) who expelled the Hycsos; and that the prince with whom he was contemporary was the Apophis of the Shepherd rule. Consequently, he insists that this Apophis was the *last* of the Hycsos, and not the fourth of the fifteenth dynasty, as Josephus expressly asserts. This is the key to his whole reconstruction of Egyptian chronology in its relation to biblical. But his scheme, while affording many striking coincidences, makes too many violent disruptions of all the documentary authorities to entitle it to acceptance.

with those of the monuments; but to what extent they may have prevailed is somewhat uncertain.

That the three dynasties of Hyesos, or Shepherd-kings, (dynasties fifteen to seventeen,) were contemporary with at least the Theban or Diospolite dynasties, (eleven to thirteen,) is not only shown by the above coincidences, but is confirmed by the direct statement of Manetho, that they were expelled by the first king of the eighteenth dynasty, (of the Theban line.) Whether any of the other dynasties continued so late as the time of this expulsion is uncertain. The unimportant fourteenth dynasty, being of a different designation, (Xoite,) is thought to have been parallel with the twelfth. Poole, followed by Wilkinson, holds that dynasties fifteen and sixteen of the Shepherds were contemporaneous with each other; but this arrangement, although convenient as shortening the period, seems to us not only improbable in itself, but also in conflict with the account in Manetho, as reported by Josephus, who sets down their total occupancy as lasting 511 years. This number, corrupted to 518, Africanus attributes to the fifteenth dynasty alone, (Euseb., 190.) According to the above synchronisms, we are only concerned to make the Shepherd sway continuous with the latter part of the twelfth and the whole of the thirteenth dynasties.

The nineteenth and twentieth dynasties, as being Diospolite, may be presumed to have been continuous with the eighteenth. But as the twenty-first was Tanitic, and in part at least a priestly usurpation, it may not only have been contemporary with the latter part of the twentieth, which betrays great weakness on the monuments, but occasionally with the neighboring twenty-second, (Bubastite,) which seems to have subdued the entire country.* Those who, like Poole, adopt the longer chronology of the Septuagint, do not feel the necessity of these last parallelisms, and those who adhere to "Usher's Chronology" will be obliged to introduce still further abbreviations at some point in the list. If, however, with many of the most recent authorities on biblical chronology, we reject the date (480th year) in 1 Kings vi, 1, and thus allow the history in the Book of Judges to be continuous, (as Paul evidently did, in Acts xiii, 20,) instead of making

* Birch admits the contemporaneousness of these dynasties, ("Egypt from the Monuments," p. 162, Am. ed.)

it parallel with itself, we shall have sufficient space for the time of the Egyptian kings, as above condensed. We may add that Poole's date for the beginning of the reign of Menes, B. C. 2717, (in which, however, he is not followed by Wilkinson,) is the result, indirectly, of his theory of the so-called Sothic and other cycles. The uncertainty of all such astronomical calculations we have pointed out under the article on Manetho, in our "Cyclopædia," to which, as well as to the article on Egypt, we refer our readers for details and literature on this subject. We here confine our attention to such works, whether recent or early, as directly deal with chronology. It will be seen that they do not essentially relieve the problem as found in the ancient authorities.

It remains for us to tabulate, by way of test and for convenience of reference, the results of the foregoing discussion, setting down the dynasties as above arranged, and their length according to the years when given on the monuments, or, when these fail, adopting those of Manetho as reported with the greatest probability. It is scarcely needful to remind the reader, once more, that in the frame-work of the fossil past thus reconstructed, of necessity not only are the articulations largely conjectural, but many of the component members themselves are little more than restored by estimate. We, therefore, reserve the privilege of amendment hereafter, if evidence shall seem to call for it.

We will let the reader into the secret of the structure of the accompanying complicated table. With the exceptions noted above, it is substantially the same as that which has been adopted by Wilkinson from Poole, and by the latter credited to Lane. The principal difference between our scheme and Poole's is in the neglecting of the Sothic dates, to which he arbitrarily adapts his whole chronology. These dates are the occurrence of the "heliacal rising" of Sothis, or the star Sirius, which he calculates to have taken place in B. C. 1322 and A. D. 139. The first of these alone is important. It is recorded in the fragments of Theon of Alexandria of the fourth century, as having taken place in the reign of Menophres, and is thought by Poole to be indicated in the zodiac on the ceiling of the Rameseum at Kurneh. But the name Menophres is found neither in Manetho nor on the monuments, and it can only be

conjectured that some prince by the name of Amenoph, or Menephtah, is meant. Two of the former occur in the eighteenth dynasty, and two of the latter in the nineteenth; and about the same period we have several princes by the name of Rameses, the second of whom (B. C. 1249–1183 in our dates) finished the building in which the above-mentioned zodiac is found. Another cycle, which Poole relies upon as furnishing several absolute dates, is that of the so-called reappearance of the Phœnix, which he thinks is likewise indicated on the same zodiac, and which Tacitus states (Annals, vi, 28) transpired at an interval of 1,461 years in the reign of Sesostris, and again in that of Amasis, and a third time in that of the third Ptolemy. The third Ptolemy was Euergetes, who reigned B. C. 247–222. The first period of 1,461 years before this would bring us to B. C. 1708–1683, where we look in vain for any Egyptian king whose name resembles Amosis. Ahmes II. reigned B. C. 569–525, and Ahmes I. (Amosis) reigned (according to us) B. C. 1492–1470; (Poole, B. C. cir. 1525.) Another period of 1,461 years brings us to B. C. 3169–3144, long before the Flood! Manetho's Sesostris (of the twelfth dynasty) reigned (according to us) B. C. 1861–1823; (Poole, B. C. cir. 1986;) and the Sesostris of Herodotus (ii, 102–110) and of Diodorus Siculus (i, 53–59) was Rameses II., of the other ancient writers and of the monuments, who reigned (according to us) B. C. 1249–1183; (Poole, B. C. cir. 1322.) From all this nothing satisfactory results. The last Egyptian cycle needful to be noticed here is what Poole calls the "Grand Panegyrical Month," consisting, according to him, of 30 Julian years. Dates in this cycle are supposed to be found in various reigns on the monuments, and from these Poole derives corroborations of his chronology. But, as we have shown in the article Manetho, in our Cyclopædia, already referred to, both the readings and calculations based upon those are too discordant and uncertain to be relied upon.

In our own scheme the chronology mounts, according to a simple process, from the fixed date, B. C. 969, when Shishak's twenty-first year has been made to coincide with Rehoboam's fifth, by the following steps, which are all furnished by the preceding summary of the lengths of the several dynasties, as settled by the comparison of Manetho's numbers with those of

the monuments, and as linked by the notes of contemporaneousness discovered as above. Allowing 20 years for Shishak's previous reign, and 135 years for dynasty twenty, (including the 109 of dynasty twenty-one,) we are brought up to B. C. 1124; and thence ascending by 178 years for dynasty nineteen, and 190 for dynasty eighteen, we arrive at the simultaneous close of dynasties thirteen and seventeen, in B. C. 1492. Once more rising directly by 266 years for dynasty thirteen, and 205 for dynasty twelve, (including the last name of Manetho's eleventh,) we come to B. C. 1963 as the close of dynasty eleven. The last king of this latter dynasty (the first of our twelfth) was the Amenemes of Manetho, who gives his years as 16, which would, therefore, be B. C. 1963–47; and his predecessor seems to have been the Soiconnos of Eratosthenes, who (incorrectly, it would seem) assigns him a reign of 60 years (that is, B. C. 2023–1963.) This Amenemes was followed by Sesonchosis, whose years on the monuments are 42 (B. C. 1947–1905.) Now, either this predecessor or this successor is evidently the Raskenen mentioned on a papyrus (according to Brugsch) as a contemporary of Pepi of the sixth dynasty at Memphis. This last king is usually identified with the long-lived Phiops of Manetho, as being the best known; although there is another similar name—Phios, or Pepi I., the second king of the same dynasty, whose regnal years are given on the monuments as 20.* Supposing Pepi II. (Phiops) to be meant,

* Poole thinks these two Pepis identical, chiefly on the ground of the resemblance of the adjoining names in Manetho's list. The Turin papyrus, however, seems to give them both, and this is confirmed by other monumental evidence. Josephus appears to have reference to one of these in a passage which is in singular analogy, yet disagreement, with the contents of the above inscription, as read by Brugsch. The latter records a reproof administered by Raskenen to Pepi for having favored the Shepherd invaders. (So Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," ii, 292.) Josephus says, that in the time of the second Shepherd invasion, "Amenophis, the king of Egypt, upon his being informed of their invasion, was in great confusion, on calling to mind what Amenophis the son of Papas had foretold him." (*c. Ap.* 26.) These two Amenophis, however, he states, (*ibid.*,) were not contemporaries. It ought to be stated here—as it is but another evidence of the precariousness of the whole system of Egyptian chronology, as well as of the foregoing reconstruction—that this notice of the coincidence of the name Raskenen and Pepi looks remarkably like another version merely of the concurrence of the same names alluded to in a foot-note above, (p. 466.) In any case, however, the limits of variation in this synchronism are confined to a comparatively small compass by the other notes of contemporaneousness.

his reign (90 years) will readily fall so as to cover nearly the whole period of the three reigns of Amenemes and his predecessor and successor, that is, B. C. cir. 2017–1927. Phiops was preceded by Methonsouphis, and he by Phios, whose regnal years on the monuments are respectively 14 and 20. The predecessor of the last was Othoes, who reigned, according to Manetho, 30 years, (that is, B. C. 2081–2051,) and was the first king of the sixth dynasty. Mounting thence by the fourth dynasty, (188 years,) and the third, (116 years,) we reach B. C. 2385 as the beginning of dynasty third; and, as we have before shown that this dynasty began on the association with Menes (dynasty first) of his own son, we have to ascend 32 years more to the beginning, that is, B. C. 2417. Of course, we are not to look at that early date for an extensive empire or a numerous population; the Mizraite kingdom, doubtless, began, like most others, with a petty leader and a handful of relatives, who had emigrated to that fertile valley, where they increased with a rapidity characteristic of the country in ancient times. Their settlement at first so far up the river as This (if, indeed, that city be at Abydos) may be explained, perhaps, by the comparative marshiness at first of Lower Egypt. Their roving disposition seems to be evinced by their colonizing Memphis in the next generation.

V. *The "Hycsos" and the Israelites.*—The relation of these two classes to each other and to the other Egyptians is so interesting, if not intimate, especially to the biblical student, that our treatment of the subject we have chosen would be incomplete without a brief consideration of this topic. The discussion of it began as early as the days of Josephus, who, in fact, gives us, in the controversial passages to which we first referred, nearly all the information we possess on the question. He professes to cite the exact words of Manetho, and says, in substance, ("*Contra Apionem*," i, 14, 15,) that the Hycsos (a name which he etymologically interprets as meaning "Shepherd-kings") were an ignoble people, who invaded Egypt from the East (evidently meaning that they were Arabs) during the reign of Timæus, (a king nowhere else mentioned,*) and event-

* Osburn, in his off-hand way, identifies him with Amenemes III., (of the 12th dynasty,) whose name he confusedly writes Amens, ("Mon. Hist.," ii, p. 13.) That is, Ameres. This would be (in our date) B. C. cir. 1954, in the early part of the fifteenth dynasty.

ually established one of themselves, named Salatis, king, at Memphis, who founded a city on the Bubastic arm of the Nile, called Avaris, as a barrier against the Assyrians; but that after a domination of 511 years these people were attacked by "the kings of Thebais and the other parts of Egypt," (language which proves the contemporaneousness of the Theban line, at least,) who, under a king named Alisphragmuthosis, subdued them, and that his son Thummosis finally drove them out of the country. The extract from Manetho further states that these refugees were the builders of Jerusalem, a statement with which Josephus joins issue, as identifying them with the Hebrews; but the language may, perhaps, be referred to the Canaanites who fortified Jebus in the interval between the exodus and the time of David. Josephus then proceeds to recount the kings of Egypt after the expulsion of the Hycsos, beginning with Tethmosis; and the list is evidently that of Manetho's eighteenth dynasty, beginning with Amosis. In the other passage (*ibid.*, 26) Josephus cites a story from Manetho to the effect that the Jewish lawgiver, Moses, was the same as a priest, Osarsiph of Heliopolis, whom a degraded leprous caste of the Egyptians made their ruler in an insurrection, and invited the escaped Shepherds back to Egypt, where they ravaged the country and committed all sorts of atrocities. The Egyptian king under whom this revolt occurred is given as Amenophis, the father of Sethos-Ramses, and the son of Rhampses; names which clearly point to Menephtah I., of the nineteenth dynasty. The narrative goes on to state, however, that as soon as Amenophis, who at the time of the outbreak was absent in Ethiopia, returned with his army, he totally defeated and expelled the rebels. This account, of course, Josephus violently controverts; but there is no occasion to doubt its accuracy, except as to the evidently malicious and arbitrary identification of these leprous insurrectionists with the Hebrews. The most casual reader cannot fail, as Josephus intimates, to note the contradiction in Manetho, if he meant to make out an identity of the Jews with both the Hycsos and the rebels, since the Shepherds had been totally expelled long before the date of the lepers, and the Hebrews had but one exodus. In connection with these excerpts from Manetho, Josephus cites passages from Chæremon and others, bearing upon the

same subject, but they contain nothing of importance to our purpose. We are not concerned here to refute, whether indignantly or coolly, either part of this migration as a garbled account of the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt; our only object is to ascertain, if possible, its chronological position with reference to the exodus. We know of no positive method for doing this but by a direct comparison of the dates of the two events, as nearly as they can be historically, or rather chronologically, determined. Unfortunately, the uncertainty of many of the elements that enter into the settlement of this early portion of both the Egyptian and the biblical chronology forbids any absolute satisfaction on this point. If, however, we may trust to the accuracy of the conclusions arrived at above, we may with tolerable safety set down the sojourn of the Hebrews in Egypt as continuing B. C. 1874–1658, and the rule of the Hyesos as lasting B. C. 2003–1470; in other words, the entire period of 216 years during which the Hebrews were in Egypt was contemporaneous with that of the Hyesos, and about the middle of the latter.*

The only information we have of the Hyesos from other ancient writers on Egypt consists of such slight notices in the fragments of Manetho as the following, by Africanus: "Fifteenth dynasty—six foreign Phœnician kings, who also took Memphis. They likewise founded a city in the Sethroite nome, advancing from which they reduced the Egyptians to subjection;" "Sixteenth dynasty—thirty other Shepherd-kings;" "Seventeenth dynasty—forty-three other Shepherd-kings, and forty-three Theban Diospolites together." Instead of this Eusebius has simply, "Seventeenth dynasty—(four) foreign Phœnician Shepherd-kings (brothers,) who also took Memphis . . . They founded a city in the Sethroite nome, advancing from which they subdued Egypt."

There are a few indications in the biblical records, which have been mostly overlooked in this discussion, but which to our mind go far toward confirming this relative position of the

* Some writers have claimed (Birch, "Egypt," p. 131) that the name Raamses, or Rameses,) one of the "treasure cities" built by the Israelites in their period of bondage, (Exod. i, 11,) is conclusive proof that the oppression took place under the Ramessidæ, (nineteenth dynasty, B. C. 1302;) but this is inconsistent with the fact that Goshen is called "the land of Rameses," (Gen. xlvii, 11,) in the time of Joseph, (B.C. 1874.)

two periods. In the first place, we are expressly told that in the time of Joseph "every shepherd was an abomination unto the Egyptians." (Gen. xlvi, 34.) This shows that the Shepherd invasion had occurred before that date, as it seems to be the only reasonable explanation of so deep an abhorrence. In the second place, however, it is clear, not only from the entire narrative, but especially from the fact that the Israelites were placed in Goshen, evidently as a breakwater against these foreign irruptions, that the Hycsos had not yet gained the upper hand, at least in Memphis, where the capital of Joseph's Pharaoh seems to have been located; and this accords with the language of Josephus above, which implies that the capture of Memphis did not occur till an advanced period in the Shepherd line, perhaps the beginning of the sixteenth dynasty. It is true Josephus seems to locate the first Shepherd king at Memphis, but he betrays the inaccuracy of this expression by adding immediately that the king in question built Avaris as his capital; and the table of dynasties shows that the Memphitic dynasty continued till about the beginning of the Shepherd dynasty sixteen. Indeed, the change in the policy of the Egyptians toward the Hebrews, (Exod. i, 8,) which took place B. C. cir. 1738, singularly accords with the revolution in lower Egypt at the end of the eighth dynasty (B. C. 1740) or the beginning of the sixteenth, (B. C. 1755.) Finally, the remark incidentally dropped as a reason by the "new king" for oppressing the Israelites, "Lest, when there falleth out any war, they join themselves unto our enemies, and fight against us, and so get them up out of the land," which at first sight seems most appropriate in the mouth of one of the regular Memphitic line, bears, when more closely examined, strongly in the opposite direction. So far as joining the enemy is concerned, there could be little difference. The Shepherds are supposed by some to have been naturally friendly toward their neighbors and fellow-shepherds, the Hebrews; but, on the other hand, we know the Hebrews were closely in alliance with the long-established and apparently legitimate native sovereigns—had been so, in fact, ever since the days of Abraham, (Gen. xii, 16;) and since the Hebrews had been located, as we have seen above, in Goshen, expressly for a purpose adverse to the Hycsos, we can hardly suppose that they had

coalesced in sympathy or plans. The tyrant's fear was not so much of the arms of the Hebrews, for they were certainly not formidable soldiers, but rather lest they should seize the opportunity of the existing civil convulsion to *escape from* Egypt. He was not alarmed, it seems, at the prospect of their increasing as an *invading* force, such as were the Hyesos, but only lest their growing numbers should warrant them in migrating bodily to some more comfortable region. This implies that they had already experienced ill treatment or dissatisfaction. From what source could this have arisen? They had the best possible land for their avocation, (Gen. xlvii, 6;) they had enjoyed royal patronage to the full; they had never hitherto been oppressed by government. They had always been peaceable and loyal citizens; why should they now be suspected and constrained? The jealousy, if on the part of the native *regime*, seems inexplicable; and we may add that such a rigorous and illegal course is not in accordance with what we otherwise know of the polity of the legitimate sovereigns of ancient Egypt. We cannot but suspect that bickerings, rivalries, animosity, had long existed between the Hebrews and the lawless, uncultivated Hyesos on their frontier; and raids such as the Israelites afterward experienced from their Bedouin neighbors in Palestine had, doubtless, often been made upon their quiet domain by these Bene-Kedem, as Josephus virtually styles them. It was this annoyance that had tempted the Hebrews to long for a less exposed situation; and when they saw these freebooters installed as lords, they might well think it high time to decamp. The whole conduct of the Hyesos, as revealed by Josephus, shows them to have been of this domineering, foraging, semi-savage character. They were, in fact, congeners of the Canaanites, with whom the Israelites had henceforth a perpetual enmity, despite the traditional comity of earlier days. No genuine Egyptian monarch seems capable of the barbarity of the Pharaoh of the Exodus; but the atrocities which Josephus states that the Hyesos perpetrated in their later invasion justify the belief that it was they who, in the days of their power, made Egypt known as "the house of bondage." The irritation and vexation caused by this system of petty persecution during the long contact of the Israelites with the Hyesos in Egypt cherished as well as disclosed the early purpose of the former

to return to the land of their forefathers, (Gen. i, 25,) and had been predicted of old, (Gen. xv, 13;) but it was not till the domination of the latter had made it galling to an intolerable degree that the resolve ripened into a fixed determination.* Sectional jealousies and tribal animosities of this sort are proverbially hereditary, and are peculiarly inveterate in the East, where they are so liable to be aggravated by blood feuds. We can trace distinct evidences of such a national grudge in this case from the time when the son of the Egyptian bond-woman —who was, doubtless, no other than a captive from these "Sons of the East" bordering on Egypt—was expelled from the Hebrew homestead for mocking the son of the free-woman, (Gen. xxi, 9,) till Moses slew the Egyptian task-master, (Exod. ii, 12.) Hagar naturally retired to the "wilderness of Beersheba," (Gen. xxi, 14,) which was part of what was known by the more general name of the desert of Paran, where her childhood had, doubtless, been spent, and there contracted a marriage for her son among her kindred tribes, called even then part of the land of Egypt, (Gen. xxi, 21.) His descendants, the notorious Ishmaelites, who roved as brigands over the region between Egypt and Canaan, intensified the clannish variance, which became still more sharply defined between the cavalierly Esau and the puritan Jacob in the next generation. These two representative characters, indeed, both went under the common title of shepherds or herdsmen, for flocks and herds constituted the staple of the property of each, (Gen. xxxiii, 9;) but the "cunning hunter of the field" evidently looked with Bedouin dis-

* "The occupation of Egypt by the Hyesos appears to have been, from first to last, military. The fortified camp of Abaris, the possession of Memphis and of various other places throughout Egypt which were garrisoned by them, placed the whole country in their name; but the difference of religion, language, and institutions would prevent any amalgamations between them and a people so peculiarly inflexible in all these relations as the Egyptians were. Their monarchs took care to preserve the military discipline on which the maintenance of their superiority depended; from Memphis, where the seat of their government was established, they visited Abaris every summer, and by military exercises and reviews at once kept up the spirit of the soldiers and made an imposing display of force in the eyes of the natives and foreigners. During the first six reigns a policy of destruction and extermination was pursued: afterward it would seem that, on payment of tribute, the sovereigns of Thebes and Xois were allowed to exercise the powers of royalty, and the people to pursue their labors in peace."—Kenrick, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, ii, p. 164.

dain upon his "simple tent-dwelling" brother as a Fellah, (Gen. xxv, 27, and following.) The collisions between the Philistine herdsmen and Jacob's (Gen. xxv, 17–22) seem to belong to the same line of difference, and may serve to remind us that Philistia, as the intermediate battle-ground of the expelled Hyesos in later times, retained in its military prowess and panoplied champions traces of their warlike encounters with the arms of Egypt. The iron war-chariots of the Canaanites are especially traceable to the Egyptian use of cavalry, and these could only deploy successfully in the level sea-coast and its connected plains. The fear of encountering these disciplined foes on the part of the Israelites in their departure from Egypt betrays the hereditary hostility between them. The Amalekites, who attacked the Hebrews in the desert, (Exod. xvii, 8,) were evidently a branch of the same roving race of Arabs in the northern part of the peninsula of Sinai, and they repeated the attack at the southern border of Canaan. (Num. xiv, 45.) The ban of eventual extermination against them (Exod. xvii, 16) was but the renewal of the old enmity. It was a caravan of these gypsy traders (indifferently called Ishmaelites or Midianites, Gen. xxxviii, 28,) who purchased Joseph and carried him to their comrades in Egypt.

The second irruption of the Hyesos into Egypt, as narrated by Josephus, manifestly was, when stripped of its apocryphal exaggerations, merely one of the forays which characterized, or rather constituted, the guerrilla system seen on various occasions to have prevailed on the southern border of Palestine, such as Saul's raid against Amalek, (1 Sam. xv. 3,) David's expeditions from Ziklag, (1 Sam. xxvii, 8,) and the later marauds of the Simeonites. (1 Chron. v, 18–22.)* The date assigned to it by Josephus would be about B. C. 1170–50, or during the troubled judgeship of Eli, when the Philistines and other aborigines had every thing pretty much their own way. This was some three centuries after the close of the Shepherd rule in

* Josephus repeatedly says that this latter invasion of the Hyesos continued during a space of thirteen years. Osburn summarily disposes of the whole account of the Shepherd-kings as a fiction, or at best a mere travesty of the rule of the native princes of Lower Egypt. The monuments, of course, would be sparing of allusion to the intruders, as they also ignore the Hebrews and the overthrow of Pharaoh in the Red Sea.

Egypt, which ended about B. C. 1492, or during the judgeship of Ehud. As the route of the invading and retreating hordes was, of course, along the sea-coast, they may have marched and countermarched freely at any time prior to David's reign without disturbing in the least the current of Hebrew annals, which at that period are confined to the mountain back-bone of the country and the Jordan valley.

In conclusion, it may not be amiss to notice a few of the synchronisms given by the ancient writers cited above between Egyptian and Hebrew history, although these seem to be but inferences derived by each from his own special system. Manetho, as cited by Josephus, evidently confounded the first as well as the second expulsion of the Hyesos with the exodus; it is not clear that Josephus himself accepted either date for that event.* Yet many chronologers, including Dr. Jarvis, have adopted this coincidence as the pivotal point of their schemes. Africanus, however, in his abstract from Manetho, does explicitly make the departure of Moses out of Egypt fall under Amosis, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty. Our own date for that king's accession (B. C. 1492) differs very little from Usher's date of the exodus, (B. C. 1491.) On the other hand, Eusebius places the exodus in the reign of Achencheres (Acherhres I. of Africanus), the successor of Horus, which latter reigned, according to our dates, (B. C. 1339–1302;) but Acherhres and several following names in both Eusebius and Africanus have been supposed, according to the monuments, to be those of foreign princes who usurped the throne during a part of Horus's reign.† Eusebius, it must be remembered, has deranged the chronology of this portion of his list by in-

* The reasoning of Josephus is quite self-contradictory on this point. He quarrels with Manetho for confounding the Israelites with the Hyesos, and yet himself seems to admit their identity. He was evidently too angry to argue well.

† Josephus gives this name as Acencheres, the *daughter* of Horus, followed by her brother. Osburn, who claims he has read the name of Achencheres on the monuments, (Mon. Hist., p. i, 185 *seq.*,) makes him out to be a son and co-regent of Mephre, the fourth king before Horus. The repetition of the name betrays some confusion, and probably corruption. As there is much intricacy here, we subjoin a table elucidating the subject. It will be observed that toward the close of the list Josephus falls into another inadvertence. He twice (*Ap.*, i, 15, 26) says that the eighteenth dynasty amounts to 393 years, in which he evidently has by mistake included the reign of Rhampses, of dynasty nineteen; yet (*ibid.*, 26) he adds this reign again,

serting this dynasty (the eighteenth) immediately after the fourth king (Aphophis) of the first dynasty (fifteen, which he reckons as seventeen) of the Shepherds. Adjusting our dates by this transposition, we would have B. C. 1701–1664 for the reign of Horus, (including that of Achencherses,) which very nearly embraces the exodus, (B. C. 1658, as we place it.) Finally, Syncellus makes the king under whom Joseph ruled in Egypt to have been Aphobis, of the fifteenth Shepherd dynasty; and he states that all authorities (apparently only Eratosthenes, as reported by Apollodorus) agree in this synchronism. According to our dates Joseph was promoted B. C. 1883, and died B. C. 1857; and Aphobis reigned B. C. 1914–1854, covering the whole period of Joseph's life in Egypt.*

together with that of Sethos, in order to make up his full number of 518 years. His list, as the table shows, is disordered at this point.

MANETHO'S LIST OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH DYNASTIES.

Dynasty.	No.	Josephus.	Yrs.	Mos.	No.	Africanus.	Yrs.	No.	Eusebius.	Yrs. Gr.	Yrs. Arm.	Monuments.	Yrs.	B.C. cir.
XVIII	1	Tethmosis,	25	4	1	Amos,		1	Amosis,	25	25	Ames,	25	1492
"	3	Amenophis,	20	7	2	Amenophthis,	24	2	Ammenophis,	21	21	Amenoph I.,		1470
"	2	Chebron,	13		3	Chebros,	13	3	Chebron,	13	13	Thotmes I.,		1457
"	4	Amesses,	21	9	4	Amesesis,	25					Thotmes II.,	2	1444
"	5	Mephres,	12	9	5	Misaphris,	13	4	Miphres,	12	12	Thotmes III.,	47	1442
"	6	Mephramu-thosis,	25	10	6	Misphrag-muthosis,	26	5	Misphrag-muthosis,	26	26	Amenoph II.,	9	1395
"	7	Thmosis,	9	8	7	Tuthmosis,	9	6	Tuthmosis,	9	9	Thotmes IV.,	7	1382
"	8	Amenophis,	30	10	8	Amenophis,	31	7	Amenophis,	31	31	Amenoph III.,	36	1375
"	9	Oros,	36	5	9	Oros,	37	8	Oros,	36 38	28	Horus,		1339
"	10	Acencheres,	12	1	10	Acherhres,	32			16				
"	11	Phatholis,	9		11	Phathos,	6		Acencherses,	12	16			
"	12	Acenchres,	12	5	12	Chebres,	12	10	Acherhres.	8	8			
"	13	Acencheres,	12	3	13	Acherhres,	12	11	Cherhres,	15	15			
"	14	Armais,	4	1	14	Armesses,	5	12	Armais,	5	5			
"	15	Pharmesses,	1	4	15	Pharmmeses,	1					Rameses I.,	2	1302
XIX.	1	Sethosis,	50		1	Sethos,	51	1	Sethos,	55	55	Sethos I.,		1300
"	2	Phampses,	66		2	Phapsaces,	61	2	Rhampses,	66	66	Rameses II.,	67	1249
XVIII	17	Amenophis,	19	6	16	Amenophath,	19	14	Amenophis,	40	40	Menephtah I.,		1183
XIX.					3	Amenephthes,	20	3	Ammenephthis	40	20	Menephtah II.,		1175
"					5	Ammenemnes	9	4	Ammenemnes,	20	20	(?)Sethos II.,		
"					6	Thuoris,	7	5	Thuoris,	7	7	(?)Sethos III.,		
	XVIII 16	Armes-ses-Miammun,	60	2	XIX. 4	Rhamseses,	60					Rameses III.,	2	1155

* An interesting confirmation of this chronological position of the Hebrews' transmigration is found in the fact that *horses* do not appear on the Egyptian monuments prior to the eighteenth dynasty, (Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," i. p. 386, Am. ed.,) having, in all probability, been introduced by the Bedouin Hyesos, of whom, however, few, if any, pictorial representations remain. Accordingly, at the removal of the Israelites to Egypt, in the early part of the Shepherd rule, we read only of asses and wagons for transportation, (Gen. xiv, 19–23,) the latter, no doubt, for oxen, like those employed in the desert, (Num. vii, 3;) but at the exode, in the latter part of the Shepherd rule, the cavalry, consisting exclusively of chariots, formed an important arm of the military service. (Exod. xiv, 7.) The incidental mention of horses, however, in Gen. xlviii, 17, as a part of

Art. VI.—BIBLE WINES.

The Scripture wine question presents itself to us in the first instance simply as a question of biblical archæology. As such it is naturally divided into two sections, answering to the two great divisions of the Bible, the one of which comes to us in the Hebrew language, and the other in the Greek. To the first of these, as being the most fundamental, this article is restricted.

Is it certain, or highly probable, that the use of alcoholic wine is mentioned in Scripture with approval, either expressed or implied? That *wine* is so mentioned all agree; but is the case such as to compel or warrant the belief that this wine was alcoholic? The overwhelming majority of biblical scholars so affirm; indeed, it is only in the present century that this view has come to be seriously questioned. Even at the present time one could almost count upon his fingers the names of all so eminent as to be recognized in any sense as authorities in any department of biblical learning, whether lexicography, archæology, or exegesis, who express dissent from this view. In this nearly all commentators agree, whether of the present or past ages, whether of one type of culture and belief or another. Indeed, the principal exceptions that can now be made to this statement are among those smaller commentaries intended for popular use, by far the best and most learned of which is that of Dr. Whedon. All Bible dictionaries, cyclopedias, and works of archæology which are of recognized authority agree in this. Exceptions, it is true, there may be found, but they will be among the smaller works of this class, intended for special uses. There is also one notable exception to this general statement, with which the public are widely familiar, that of the first edition of Kitto's Cyclopedia, four articles for which, bearing on this subject, were written by the distinguished temperance advocate, Dr. Lees. But the fact that when this work was revised and enlarged, under the editorship of Dr.

farm stock in certain parts of the country, at a somewhat later date than Jacob's migration, and of chariots at his funeral, (Gen. l, 8,) materially weakens the force of this coincidence. Herodotus says (ii, 108) that horses and chariots were in use before the time of Sesostris the Great, by whom he probably means Rameses II., (B. C. 1249.)

W. L. Alexander, these articles were all substituted by others, advocating other views, detracts from the significance of this exception.

What is true of books of reference on the Bible is also true of works of general reference. The great body of these do not betray the slightest consciousness that the word wine is ever used in any other sense than as the name of a fermented liquor. Take as specimens of these, the Encyclopedia Brittanica, Appletons' Cyclopedia, Chambers', Rees', Smith's Dictionary of Grecian and Roman Antiquities, Brand's Dictionary of Science and Art, etc., etc. Webster's Dictionary is no exception, nor Worcester's. Indeed, all the dictionaries in current use of all the languages in which, and with respect to which, our inquiries on this subject must be conducted, seem to agree in treating wine, and the words answering to it—in the Latin, the Greek, the Hebrew, the Syriac, and the Arabic languages—as names of a fermented liquor.

If we turn for information to those who in our time have had personal acquaintance with Bible lands, and the peoples who most nearly represent those of the Bible, we are met by a similar body of testimony. Dr. Eli Smith, for more than a score of years missionary in Syria, the most noted wine region among the lands of the Bible—the man to whom that as yet unequaled book, Robinson's "Researches," is largely indebted for its minute and accurate information, and so a most competent witness—says: "Unintoxicating wines I have not been able to hear of. All wines, they say, intoxicate more or less. When inquiring for unfermented wine I have uniformly been met with a stare of surprise. The very idea seems to be regarded as an absurdity."—*Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1846, page 388.

Dr. Van Dyck, the eminent Arabic scholar and translator of the Bible into that language, who has been pronounced more familiar with the customs and life of the people of Syria than any other foreigner, says: "There is not, and, so far as I can find out, never was, any thing like what has been called unfermented wine. The thing is not known in the East. Syrup is made from the juice of the grape and molasses; but nothing that is called wine is unfermented. They have no unfermented drinks but water of licorice root. Raisins are sometimes soaked till they swell, and then eaten and the water

drank; but it is never called wine, or supposed to be related to wine.

"The native Churches—Evangelical, Maronite, Greek, Coptic, and Armenian—all use fermented wine at communion. They have no other, and have no idea of any other.

"The Jews not only use fermented wine at their feasts, but use it to great excess, especially at the feast of Purim, when, according to the Talmud, a man is bound to get so drunk with wine as not to know the difference between 'Cursed be Haman' and 'Blessed be Mordecai.' At the Passover only fermented wine is used. As I said before, there is no other, and they have no idea of any other."—*Bibliotheca Sacra, January*, 1869.

Dr. Justin Perkins, in his work, "Residence of Eight Years in Persia," speaks at some length of the wines of Persia, but the substance of his testimony is comprehended in a single sentence, which I quote: "The wines in Persia are, in general, much lighter than those in Europe, but they are still always intoxicating."—Page 234.

Rev. Benjamin Larabee, Jun., who has been for many years missionary among the Nestorians, writes to his father, Dr. Larabee, late President of Middlebury College, Vermont: "With the most careful inquiries I have been unable to learn that any wine is ever manufactured in the country which is not intoxicating. The various kinds made differ, more or less, in their intoxicating powers, but all are fermented, and all, sooner or later, produce the same effect. The unfermented juice of the grape is never used as a beverage. The very Syriac word for wine signifies, by its etymology, fermented."

Rev. J. H. Shedd, missionary at Oroomiah, Persia, in a communication to the "Interior," of July 20, 1871, speaks of an experience of eleven years in the East, and says: "The most diligent inquiries of those on the ground, and most familiar with the people in Turkey and Persia, can find no unfermented wine. *The people know nothing of the luxury spoken of by classical writers*, and nothing of any method of preserving the juice of the grape from becoming intoxicating. The testimony of all familiar with the East is the same."

Rev. Henry Homes, American missionary at Constantinople, in his most able and instructive article on the "Produce of the Vineyard in the East," says: "All that is called wine in the

East is as truly wine as that which is called wine in France. Whether boiled or not, whether sweet or sour, all the known wines are intoxicating."—*Bibliotheca Sacra, May*, 1848.

If, from commentaries, works of reference, and individual testimony, we turn for light to the self-repeating religious observances of the people of these lands, we find a similar state of facts. Dr. Eli Smith, in the article above referred to, says: "In regard to the wine used at the Sacrament, I have questioned both Papal and Greek priests, and received the same answer. It must, they say, be perfect, pure wine. If unfermented it will not answer, nor will it if the acetous fermentation be commenced. The acknowledgment of the necessity of fermentation by the Papists is worthy of special notice, inasmuch as they reject fermented bread. This rejection is owing to their belief that our Saviour used unleavened bread at the institution of the ordinance; and their admission of fermented wine, consequently, indicates a belief that he used fermented wine, notwithstanding it was the feast of unleavened bread. To this, so far as I have observed, the custom of the Jews in Palestine now corresponds."

The testimony of Dr. Van Dyck has already been quoted, and is equally positive and definite, both as to Jewish and Christian usage. And that this practice of the Jews is not the result of any very modern degeneracy is shown by the testimony of the Mishna, the oldest non-biblical authority in the matter of Jewish customs. "It is commanded that this rite be performed with red wine." In another place it says "that water is mixed with wine because it is too strong to be drunk alone." The Jerusalem Talmud speaks of being "merry with wine" at this feast; and "to meet the question, How can intoxication be hindered? the rabbins replied, 'Wine between eating does not intoxicate a man.'" In the light of many sentences of this character, which have been culled from the Talmud, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that, in the centuries just following the beginning of our era, the Passover wine was frequently, if not universally, of an intoxicating quality.

Such is a plain and honest statement of the case. It will certainly not be profitable, but, on the contrary, most harmful, to allow it to be disguised in any of its features. Neither lamentations nor maledictions can change it. Instead, then, of be-

wailing or misrepresenting the opinions that others have been led to form on this subject, let us accept them as what they really are, not decisive authority, indeed, but at most only helpful suggestion. Our work is not to change the immutable past to make it harmonize with our present ideas of policy and right; but by wisdom and faith, candor and courage, patience and self-sacrifice, to bring in a better future, as, by the grace of God, we can and will do. And yet, as this better future must come out of our Bible somehow, it is still natural and proper that we should turn to it with devout and earnest inquiry, in the spirit of the scholar and the faith of the Christian—that we should again place it in the crucible of criticism, to see whether, after all, it may not have been misrepresented;—whether its divine utterances, as they have been echoed back to us from this great cloud of witnesses, have not been misunderstood, and so misinterpreted.

As has been already said, this is primarily a question of archæology, and must be determined by testimony. This testimony we must find without us and not within us. We cannot evolve it from the depths of consciousness or conscience, but we must bring it from those sources where, in the providence of God, it exists. Now, there are three great sources of original information on such a subject: 1. The present prevailing customs in the lands of the Bible, and among the peoples which represent most nearly those of the Bible. These we have already referred to, but may take occasion to allude to them again. 2. The ancient customs of the Jews, as preserved in the most ancient non-biblical literature. The great work in this category is that to which allusion has already been made, namely, the Jewish Talmud. 3. But the one grand source of information is the original text of the Old Testament, and to this we now reverently make appeal. And we turn to it, fully recognizing and frankly admitting the practical unanimity with which biblical scholars of all ages, sects, and nationalities have decided as to the honorable place which Scripture gives to fermented wine—a unanimity which is even now but slightly broken. But we turn to the Bible as just as really the standard of appeal in the case as though nothing else had ever been written. We are bound to respect the opinions of the most competent scholars and witnesses on this subject. We

cannot afford to be uncandid or intolerant. This is a question of fact and not of feeling. And it must be admitted that on most questions of this nature such an array of human authorities agreeing would be practically decisive; but in this matter there are some considerations which come in to break the force and positiveness of the conclusions which so many have reached. Some of these it is the object of this article to set forth, rather in the way of suggestion than of full and positive affirmation.

1. First, then, in seeking to understand the real facts of the case, it is proper to direct attention to the peculiar character of the Hebrew language. It contains, as is well known, comparatively few words, and hence the general belief is that its capabilities of expression are very limited. But the fact is that in certain departments of human thought and experience few languages are so expressive. A language that has more than sixty different words for "break," a still larger number for "go," and more than one hundred for "take," no one of which is the exact synonym of another, must delight in fine distinctions. Who does not see that in translating a hundred different Hebrew words by "take," as is actually done in our version, there must be many shades of meaning lost. This English word must, of course, be, in a majority of these instances, more or less inaccurate as a translation. It must give some words more meaning than they really have, others less, and all, to some extent, a different meaning. Hence, in such cases we must miss in the English version the exact force of the original.

Such is the case before us. Eleven Hebrew words, no one of which is a synonym of another, are rendered by one and the same English word, wine. Some of these, it is true, are also rendered by other words, but the most important of these are quite uniformly rendered wine. Now, it is patent on the surface of this matter that we have lost distinctions expressed in the original, and there is certainly a possibility that the absence of these distinctions is a source of obscurity and difficulty. We talk about "wine," but the Old Testament treats of *yayin*, *tirosh*, *shekar*, *sope*, etc., no one of which words may be exactly represented by the English word "wine."

2. Every one who has given attention to the matter knows the special difficulty of ascertaining certainly and accurately the meaning of words in the Old Testament applied to objects

an natural history. Some of these words have not been in use since the Hebrew ceased to be a spoken language, that is, for more than two thousand years; and as there has been maintained in this land no continuous national life, and no regular succession of literature, in many instances the meaning of these words is almost hopelessly lost. For fifteen hundred years the Church has been discussing the identity of Jonah's gourd, and yet without agreement to this day. The "rose of Sharon" and the "lily of the valley" have gone widely into all forms of Christian literature; but there is even now no unanimity among scholars as to the plants intended. The cistus, crocus, mallow, hollyhock, and, by most, the narcissus, have all been selected for the former; while at least an equal number of candidates have been brought forward for the honor of being identified with the latter. So difficult is it, even in such notable examples, to make sure of the natural history of the Bible. This consideration bears legitimately on this subject, though not with full force. We are prosecuting an inquiry touching this very class of objects, without the helps that come from a continuous succession of witnesses either in life or literature. There is, then, here a special liability to error, and this fact should make us modest in our affirmations.

The effort to procure relief at this point by seeking testimonies and illustrations from the luxurious periods of Grecian and Roman civilization has but increased the embarrassment. The types of life in these nations were widely distinct from that of the Hebrew people, and on questions of this character it is particularly unsafe to reason from the one to the other.

3. We come now to a consideration that bears upon this whole question with peculiar significance. It is evident from the Old Testament that the vine was one of the most characteristic and highly esteemed of the productions of the Holy Land. Numerous passages might be cited to illustrate this, but it is not necessary to use space for this purpose. No careful reader of the Bible will question the truth of this statement. Now, all the manufactured products of the vine are called in our English Bible "wine" and "honey;" this last word being used with this application in not more than half a score of instances, while wine is used more than two hundred times. The impression, then, which we receive from the English Old Testa-

ment is that the one grand product of the vine is what we call wine. So exclusively is this the case that nothing else comes into our thought; vine and wine are practically equivalents.

But the fact now is that what is commonly called wine, namely, the fermented juice of the grape, is neither the sole product of the vine, nor by any means the most important. Dr. Eli Smith, in the article already twice quoted, says: "Wine is not the most important, but rather the least so, of all the objects for which the vine is cultivated." And again, in speaking of a particular locality, "The wine made is an item of no consideration." Dr. Robinson says: "No wine is made from the very extensive vineyards of Hebron, except a very little by the Jews." Rev. Henry Homes, in the excellent article already mentioned, on the "Produce of the Vineyard in the East," specifies sixteen different classes of products of the vine. He says: "The largest part of the produce of the vine is used for other purposes than making intoxicating liquors." He finds this to be true, not only among Moslems, to whom wine is interdicted, but also among Jews and Christians, who drink it without scruple. He is led to conclude that, on account of the influence of travelers, and the corruption and degradation of the people, the amount of wine now made is greater than at any former period, but even now it is proportionately small. And yet he says, "In the vine-growing districts of Turkey the grape stands as prominent among the productions of the country as a source of comfort and prosperity as the Bible makes it to have been among the productions of Judea."

Now, this serious discrepancy between the facts as they now are in Bible lands, and the facts as they are made to appear in our English version, plainly points to the conclusion that in the latter we fail to see the case as it really was—that wine as an alcoholic liquor has an undue prominence in that body of biblical interpretation to which reference has already been made. Eastern life is practically immutable. What we see to-day doubtless gives a very accurate suggestion of what might have been seen three thousand years ago. Hence the present state of the case, as attested by such thoroughly competent witnesses as have been already cited, and multitudes of others who might be quoted, creates a strong presumption against the view which has been most widely held. It is absolutely incredible that in

this regard there should have been such a radical revolution as this would imply.

4. Coming to the particular facts in the case, as exhibited in the original words translated wine, we shall have little occasion for extended discussion of Hebrew etymologies, or for a microscopic scrutiny of particular passages. Sufficient for this are the lexicons and the commentaries, and the many monographs which have been written on this general subject. The state of the case is about as fairly within the range of a careful and critical student of the English Bible as of the Hebrew scholar. Eleven Hebrew words are translated wine, and two others not so translated deserve notice in this connection. Arranging these in the general order of their occurrence, they are: יַיִן (*yayin*,) 140; תִּירוֹשׁ (*tirosh*,) 38; שֵׁכָר (*shekar*,) which occurs in the noun form 23 times, and in the verb form 19; חֶמֶר (*khemer*,) and its cognate in the Chaldee, 10; עָסִיס (*ahsees*,) 5; שְׁמָרִים (*shemarim*,) 5; סֹבֶא (*sobe*,) as a noun 3, as a verb 6; אֲשִׁישָׁה (*ashishah*,) 4; עֲנָבִים (*anavim*,) as wine 1, as grapes 16; יֶקֶב (*yekeb*,) as wine 1, as a wine-press, 16; מִמְסָךְ (*mimsak*,) 1. In addition to these words rendered wine, there are two others which are applied to the manufactured product of the vine, namely, חֹמֶץ (*khometz*,) "vinegar," which occurs 6 times, and דְּבַשׁ (*d'bash*,) (dibs,) rendered "honey." This occurs 54 times, in only two of which occurrences does it certainly mean dibs. Thus does it appear that one of these words occurs 140 times, another 38, and yet that the aggregate of the occurrences of all the words in this list, except the first, in noun form, is scarcely more than 100. Now the question is, *Do these figures indicate that this word, which occurs* 140 *times, is used in a sense broad and generic, or one narrow and specific?* Present usage indicates that the sense of fermented liquor is one of the narrowest and least important which the subject furnishes, and yet we have every reason to believe, that because of the influence of foreign travelers, this sense is more prominent than in the ancient time; is it credible that this one word, which is so conspicuous in our Hebrew Bibles, is applied exclusively in a sense so restricted and special? That it is repeatedly used in this sense no one will deny; the question is, Is it invariably used in this sense? If it be urged that the etymology of יַיִן (*yayin*,

is decisive, because, according to Gesenius, it comes from a root which means, "*to boil up, to be in a ferment,*" and so it must always include in its contents the idea of fermentation, we reply that Fürst, who, in etymology, is greatly superior to Gesenius, does not concur in this view, but finds in the root of the word an allusion to the manner in which the juice is obtained from the grape, (יִין, *to tread the grapes,*) a view which gives the word breadth enough to cover all the manufactured products of the vine. If it is ever employed for the grape itself, as without doubt it is, (see Jer. xl, 10,) this is by that very common figure of rhetoric, metonomy, and in no way affects the case.

Practically, however, this inquiry may be limited to three of these words, namely, יַיִן (*yayin,*) which occurs 140 times; תִּירוֹשׁ (*tirosh,*) which occurs 38 times; and שֵׁכָר (*shekar,*) which occurs 23 times. The last is steadily used in a bad sense, and with implied reprobation, as is also the cognate verb, which is used nineteen times. True, it is included in the system of religious offerings, but this fact is significant rather of its value than of its use as by men. תִּירוֹשׁ (*tirosh,*) on the other hand, is used in a good sense, frequently keeping company with corn and oil. The only apparent exception is Hos. iv, 11: "Whoredom and wine and new wine take away the heart," where the general thought is the imbruting influence of appetite; and the combination points most significantly to that state of degradation in which all things minister to fleshliness and sensuality. יַיִן (*yayin,*) is used in both senses, now as a blessing, and now as a curse. Now this שֵׁכָר (*shekar,*) which is reprobated, is beyond all question an intoxicating liquor; while תִּירוֹשׁ (*tirosh,*) which is found so uniformly in good company, is, with strong probability, as even Fürst concludes, not alcoholic. *Does not this appear significant of the principle on which this classification was made?* Does it not lend plausibility to the conjecture, even if it be nothing more than conjecture, that it is with reference to this very distinction that *yayin* is sometimes approved and sometimes condemned?

5. This general presumption is strengthened by another class of very important facts. The law of the Nazarite (Num. vi, 1–21) required abstinence from all the products of the vine,

which in the third verse are enumerated in the use of seven different terms and phrases. A similar prohibition, though less rigid in its conditions, was made to officiating priests. Individuals elected to important functions, as the wife of Manoah and the mother of Samuel, were similarly restrained. The family of Jehonadab maintained in this way a practical protest against the sweeping flood of heathen luxury and corruption for two centuries and a half, and obtained from Jehovah this remarkable vindication: "Because ye have done this, thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Jonadab, the son of Rechab, shall not want a man to stand before me forever." Jer. xxxv, 18, 19. Now, without discussing *in extenso* these cases, every one of which is most significant, is it not clear that they constitute in the aggregate a divinely-directed protest against that which intoxicates? Manifestly, the reason for interdicting indifferent and innocent things, as in the case of the Nazarite, was to testify most effectually against this one evil thing, just as the innocent earth, with all it contains, is cursed for the sake of man, its guilty head.

6. But, finally, if it be said that in this rudimentary stage in the development of God's kingdom among men, and in these exceedingly simple conditions, there was not, in this as in other matters, so clear a line of demarkation between the good and the bad, the wholesome and the hurtful, as in the better developed and more Christian type of this kingdom, we have nothing to object to such a view. Indeed, this is quite in harmony with God's usual method of procedure in the spiritual discipline of man. In specific cases, such as have been already mentioned, he puts before us the *ideal* of consecrated living, which ideal shall be fully and generally realized only when "Holiness to the Lord" shall be written even upon "the bells of the horses."

Art. VII.—TYERMAN'S LIFE OF WHITEFIELD.

The "Life of Whitefield," by Rev. L. Tyerman, which has recently appeared, is a work of twelve hundred pages. It is contained in two volumes, and is adorned with two portraits of the great preacher, one of which represents him at the age of twenty-four years, and the other at the age of fifty-four.

There is much in these volumes which is familiar; there is also much that is new; and it seems to be no empty boast of Mr. Tyerman that he has spared "neither time, toil, nor money" in gathering his materials. He has brought to light some interesting documents. The work is clearly written, though without any claim to high literary excellence. Its main fault is that it is too voluminous. The happy arts of omission and condensation might have been carried to a further extent, and the value of the work would have been thereby increased. Pages are filled with financial statements about the Orphan House in Georgia, which have no interest to the reader. There are entirely too many quotations from worthless and forgotten pamphlets concerning Whitefield. A few quotations were proper; but only a few.

These, however, are minor criticisms. We owe the author a debt of gratitude that he has given to us so satisfactory an account of the greatest of modern evangelists. And we trust that we shall perform some slight service to our readers if, with the aid of the additional materials before us, we give a sketch of one whose mighty eloquence stirred scores of thousands in the last century, and the result of whose labors are felt in England and America even at the present time.

George Whitefield was born in the Bell Inn, Gloucester, England, in the year 1714. All that we know of his early years is the account which he has given of himself. This curious piece of biography was written when he was but twenty-five years of age. It was written with great frankness, and contains some expressions which laid him open to severe criticisms. He felt the justice of some of these criticisms, for in after years he revised this juvenile performance, and struck out many passages. "Joseph," he said, quoting from Matthew

Henry's Commentary, "had more honesty than he had policy, or he would never have told his dreams."

Mr. Tyerman publishes this account in full, as it was originally written. In this he has done a wise thing; for we wish to see Whitefield as he was; we wish to see alike his weakness and his strength. "Paint me as I am," said Oliver Cromwell to the court painter; "if you leave out the wrinkles I shall not give you a shilling." It was thus that Whitefield painted himself.

In the year 1732 he went to Oxford, and was entered, at the age of seventeen, as a student of Pembroke College. The year was an eventful one in his life. He became deeply interested in Law's "Serious Call to a Devout Life." The next year he became acquainted with John and Charles Wesley and their companions. Then he passed through a great spiritual struggle, which brought him to a bed of sickness; he had "fightings without and fears within;" he fasted and prayed and wept and passed sleepless nights. At last the clouds broke, the light dawned, the storm rolled away, and he enjoyed sweet rest and peace. He was "a new creature in Christ Jesus."

He was ordained by Bishop Benson in the year 1736, when only twenty-one years of age. At this time he seems to have had no idea of the greatness which he was afterward to attain. He was, indeed, eager to preach, and yet he shrank from entering upon the solemn work of the ministry while he was so young. "I have prayed a thousand times,' he said, "till the sweat has dropped from my face like rain, that God of his infinite mercy would not let me enter the Church before he called me. I am unfit to preach in thy great name. Send me not, Lord; send me not yet." And yet the singular history of the first sermon which he wrote ought to have encouraged him. He sent this sermon to a neighboring clergyman as a proof of his unfitness for the work of preaching. Two weeks later the clergyman returned it with his thanks and a guinea, and said that he had divided it, and preached a part of it to his congregation in the morning, and the other part in the evening.

The first sermon of Whitefield was preached at Gloucester in the presence of the friends of his childhood. Curiosity drew a large congregation. The sermon was on "The Necessity and Benefit of Religious Society"—certainly an important subject—

and contains a bold denunciation of worldly assemblies. Such an impression was made by its delivery that an unfriendly critic made haste to convey to the Bishop the astonishing news that it "drove fifteen people mad."

And now Whitefield entered upon that wonderful ministry of thirty-four years, during which he preached more than eighteen thousand sermons to great congregations in Great Britain and America. The churches could not hold the multitudes which flocked to hear him, and he often spoke in the open air. He swayed all classes by his mighty power as a pulpit orator. Traditions of his eloquence remain, and are hard to credit, though well authenticated. At Bristol the people, in their eagerness to hear the "boy parson," climbed on the roof, and clung to the rails of the organ-loft. In London they rose before dawn, and hastened to the early morning service; and Kennington Common would be filled with a great crowd of hearers. In Scotland large congregations were moved as never before or since. At Cambuslang during a sermon "thousands," it is said, "were bathed in tears, some wringing their hands, others almost swooning, and others crying out and mourning over a pierced Saviour." At Cheltenham, where the church doors were closed against Whitefield, he stood on a tombstone, and preached with such energy and pathos that the people wept aloud, and he had to pause until the people could restrain their feelings so as to hear him.

The same remarkable power attended his ministry in America, as in England. At Charleston the reformation extended from morals to manners. Jewelers and dancing masters cried out that their crafts were in danger. In Philadelphia, which then had a population of ten thousand, it seemed as though all the people were becoming religious, and psalm singing could be heard in every house. In Boston, "the capital of New England, and the biggest city in America," he preached his farewell sermon on the Common to twenty-three thousand hearers. "In this town," says a letter-writer of the day, "whoever goes to lessen Mr. Whitefield's reputation is in danger of losing his own."

The best evidence of Whitefield's power is the effect which it had upon what writers used to call "the polite world." It is not so strange that he moved the religious class by his earnest

utterances of truth, or that his gestures, vehemence, resounding voice, humor, and tears should rivet the attention of a London mob, of Kingswood colliers, of Charleston negroes, or of Boston mechanics. Evangelists since his day have shown something of his power in these respects. But it is a marvelous proof of his unrivaled oratory that he should win the admiration of worldly wits, of selfish statesmen, of scoffing skeptics—of all of that brilliant throng of eminent men and of beautiful women which filled the Gothic Chapel at Bath, or the stately rooms of the London mansion of the Countess of Huntingdon. Chesterfield said that Whitefield's eloquence was unrivaled, and the infidel writer, Bolingbroke, that it was the most commanding that he had ever heard. Hume and Franklin, who were not in sympathy with his doctrines, sounded his praises. Among the number of celebrated hearers was Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, a woman whose beauty, wit, and social position made her influence scarcely less than that of the Queen of England, and whose violent temper increased with age. "God knows," she says in one of her letters, "that we all need mending, and none more than myself."

Nor were the effects of this "prince of preachers," as Toplady calls him, as transient as a cloud. They were profound and permanent. In that great revival which the graceful pen of Stevens has so well recorded, Whitefield was, under God, a prominent agent. It was his voice which rebuked sin in high places and in low places, which roused a sleeping Church to action, and bade sinners every-where repent. The number of converts under his ministry is unknown. It was estimated that forty thousand persons were converted in New England alone, and New England was but a small part of the field of his labors. Many of his converts entered the ministry, and thus widely extended his influence. Among these was Thomas Olivers, who was "a brand plucked from the burning," and whose noble hymn, "Lo! He comes, with clouds descending," will live as long as the English language. There were also Robinson, who was in his day a great Baptist preacher in Cambridge, England; and Burder, whose "Village Sermons" have been widely read; and Thomas Rankin, one of Wesley's most useful preachers; and John Fawcett, who preached among the Yorkshire hills for fifty-four years, and wrote that sweet hymn,

"Blest be the tie that binds;" and Dr. Samuel Cooper, who was in his day the popular preacher of Boston, and who in old Brattle-street Church, before a great congregation, pronounced a great eulogy on his spiritual father.

We have no room to trace in detail the wonderful career of Whitefield. His sermons never lacked hearers. At first he met in some places with opposition, and was greeted with curses and stones. In numerous pamphlets cruel and indecent slanders were circulated against him. All that malice and jealousy and envy and falsehood could do was done to put him down, but he lived and conquered by the truth which he preached, until his progress was peaceful and triumphant. Nor did his popularity cease, until, worn out, not with age, but with excessive toil, he preached his last sermon—a sermon of two hours in length—and fell in death as falls a warrior on the field of battle, with his armor on.

Beyond question he was one of the greatest of orators. Art had done something for him, but nature had done much more. His personal appearance was not remarkable. He was somewhat above the middle size, of fair complexion, of regular features, and had a slight defect in one of his eyes, which led the low comedian, Foote, to ridicule him under the name of Dr. Squintum. As he stood on his "pulpit throne," robed in a black gown, and his head covered with the long flowing wig which was then in fashion, he looked like many an ordinary preacher of that day. But when he began to speak attention was arrested. His voice was so loud that it could be heard at times a distance of a mile, and its tones were clear and musical. Garrick, who was no mean judge of elocution, said that he could move an audience to smiles or tears by his varied pronunciations of the word Mesopotamia. "I would give a hundred guineas," he declared, "if I could say 'Oh!' like Mr. Whitefield." Many times the great preacher would give with startling effect the cry of Jeremiah, "O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord!" and when he would exclaim, "Hark! hark!" the vast congregation would be hushed in silence. On one occasion he preached from his favorite text, "Ye must be born again," and closed a most affecting sermon by uttering, in a way which made an indelible impression, a quotation from Solomon's Song, which, it would seem, was not calculated to

produce any effect whatever, "Awake, O north wind; and come, thou south; blow upon this garden, that the spices thereof may flow out. Let my beloved come into his garden, and eat his pleasant fruits."

His dramatic power was very great. He was profuse in his gestures; intensely animated, and in his vehement passages would stamp his foot, and his voice would ring out like a trumpet. His humor was not equal to his pathos. He could give a quaint and humorous expression, and tell a pleasant anecdote; but, after all, his strength lay in his intense feeling, which rose to a sublime passion, and in his subduing tenderness. Sometimes he would pause, overcome by his own appeal to sinners, and burst into tears. In his descriptive power he equaled, we firmly believe, any man who ever lived. Through his kindled imagination he could make pictures realities, and the hearers could see the judge put on his black cap as he was about to condemn the prisoner, and the wrecked ship sinking beneath the waves, and the blind beggar groping his way on the edge of an awful precipice. Chesterfield cried out with horror as he saw the beggar, "Heavens! he is gone!" and the sailors saw the wreck and cried, "Man the life-boat!"

Often he would weave into his sermon an anecdote. When he was a boy one of his companions said to him, "George, one day you may become a preacher." "If I do," was the reply, "I will not tell stories as old Cole does," alluding to a preacher of that day. But he soon found in the actual work of the ministry the value of a well-told anecdote. He was quick to see the value of any little incident which came under his observation, and would reproduce it with telling effect. His genius turned common things into gold, and turned gold into diamonds. When in Boston, Whitefield was told of a little boy who had heard him preach, and soon after was taken sick, and on his dying bed whispered feebly, "I am going to see Mr. Whitefield's God." He told the incident at the close of a powerful exhortation, and then, turning from the parents to the children, he said in tones which brought tears to nearly all eyes, "Little children, if your parents will not come to Christ, do you come and go to heaven without them."

His dramatic power, which was the gift of nature, was carefully cultivated, and his intense feeling and devotion to truth

saved him from running into affectation, which is the vice of many a trained speaker. It is said that he studied privately the rules of speaking, and that the delivery of a sermon would improve up to its fortieth repetition. Before his conversion he read a great deal of dramatic literature, of which he was very fond, and, like Charles Wesley, and other bright schoolboys of that day, took a prominent part in amateur dramatic performances. The knowledge which he thus gained was sanctified, and did good service in the holiest of callings.

Whitefield was often very happy in the choice of subjects for his sermons, and thus he arrested attention at the outset. He did not, however, like some of his imitators, choose eccentric subjects, such as Jehudi's penknife and Paul's cloak, and set the hearers wondering what he was going to make out, or marvel at his legerdemain in bringing flowers and fruit out of empty boxes. On board the ship which bore him to Georgia he preached, when but twenty-three years of age, to the officers and sailors on the sins of profanity and drunkenness. In the Newgate prison he told the prisoners of the "penitent thief." At Bath, where the people gathered to drink at the hot wells, he bade thirsty souls to "Come and drink of the waters of life freely," and at Alnwick, while the races were in progress, his text was, "So run that ye may obtain." But the best and boldest thing he did was to stand before the faculty and students of Harvard University, who had been influenced by what he believed to be the defective theology of Tillotson and Samuel Clark, and preach a frank and manly sermon from these words: "We are not as many, who corrupt the word of God." "God gave me," he says, "great freedom and boldness of speech."

Sometimes, but rarely, he preached on topics of the hour. He preached a thanksgiving sermon on the great victory at Rossbach, won by Frederick the Great over the French, a victory which stirred the blood of the German race from the Alps to the Baltic, and which, in its results, was one of the most important in modern times. He preached on the glorious victory won by Wolfe on the heights of Quebec, which broke forever the power of France in North America. But generally he kept closely to the great themes of the Gospel. His second sermon was from the text, "If any man be in Christ he is a new creature;"

his third from the text, "Ye are justified;" and the fourth from the text, "Ye are glorified." From place to place he journeyed for thirty-four years, proclaiming the ruin of man, the love of God, salvation through Jesus, repentance, faith, heaven and hell; and he spoke earnestly, as a man should speak who believes these doctrines with every fiber of his being. He felt that men ought to hear these doctrines, for there was in them power to move the world, and he determined to make men hear them. In his exhortations he would in turn address different classes of hearers. At Charleston he spoke to those of different ages—to the old, the middle-aged, and the young; and then to the different races—to the whites, the Indians, and the negroes. Sometimes he would make an appeal to individuals. On one occasion it is related he saw a young man in a tree who had climbed up there to ridicule him. Whitefield bade the young man imitate Zaccheus, and come down and receive Jesus. The word was backed with power. He heard, came down, believed, and soon after went forth to preach the Gospel.

The courage which Whitefield displayed in his sermons was remarkable. By nature he was timid, and shrank from danger. He saw an assassin in a drunken rowdy who suddenly struck him. When about to speak to a rough crowd he trembled so that his wife pulled his gown to arrest his attention, and said, "George, play the man for your God." His courage was not physical, but that higher kind which endures—moral courage. When he was fairly roused he would hurl thunderbolts without fear of consequences. If he could have kept back the truth, he never acted as though he wanted to. At the close of life he might have said to those to whom he preached, "I have not shunned to declare unto you the whole counsel of God." We have read many passages from his sermons which glow with indignation against sin, like the language of the old Hebrew prophets: "Woe unto you," he cried to the fashionable and wealthy sinners who were found at every service in Tottenham Court Chapel; "woe unto you, who, not content with sinning yourselves, turn factors for hell, and make a trade of tempting others to sin. Woe unto you, who sell your consciences and pawn your souls for a little worldly wealth or honor. Woe unto you, who climb up to high places in Church or State by corruption, bribery, extortion, cringing, flattery, or bowing

down to and soothing the vices of those by whom you expect to rise. Woe unto you! I tremble for you. How can you escape the damnation of hell?"

This may seem like coarse language to modern ears, but it struck the mark. Where sin is bold the preaching should be bolder still. Popular sermons of the present day are somewhat instructive, and the thoughts are clothed in graceful sentences, but we miss that tremendous earnestness which sweeps all before it like a flood; that peculiar energy which dares to say all that is in the mind and heart; that great boldness of speech which made Chatham and Whitefield rule their hearers with an almost unquestioned sway.

One element of Whitefield's popularity was his entire freedom from bigotry, and this fact opened many a door to him which was closed to others. In this respect he was in advance of his age. John Wesley, who knew him well, says of him: "He breathes nothing but peace and love. Bigotry cannot stand before him, but hides its head whenever he comes." This is high, but not unmerited, praise, as many passages in the sermons show. Preaching on one occasion, he exclaimed, "I ask men not what they are, so that they love Jesus Christ in sincerity and in truth. Christianity will never flourish until we are all of one heart and one mind. This may be esteemed as enthusiasm and madness." His conduct gave proof that he believed what he preached. He was ever the friend of Dissenters and Quakers. He welcomed Doddridge to his pulpit, and Doddridge went and preached there, much to the horror of Isaac Watts. "What more particularly endears Bunyan to my heart," he says, "is this, he was of a catholic spirit. The want of water, adult baptism, with this man of God was no bar to outward Christian communion." Though he had personal and doctrinal differences with John and Charles Wesley, yet he was generous enough to provide a comfortable vault under his chapel where all three could be laid after death. He told his Church members of his plan. "We will lie together. You will not let them enter your chapel while they are alive. They can do you no harm when they are dead." Such a spirit, free from the slightest trace of bigotry, won him the hearts of those who fought bitterly against each other about Church government, and about "the solemn league and covenant."

Tyerman remarks, as, indeed, all the other writers do, that Whitefield's sermons are below his fame. There is nothing wonderful in this. The utterances of many great orators, when they are printed, do not justify the reputation of their authors. We miss the voice and the gesture and the feeling. Probably the best of Whitefield's sermons have not come down to us. Eighty-one of them have been printed. Of these eighteen were printed from shorthand notes without his revision, and were preached during the last seven years of his life, and forty-six of the remainder were given to the press before he was twenty-five years of age. It would be unjust to judge him by these. And yet in the sermons of his youth, and in the imperfect report of those of his later years, we see many passages of manly eloquence. The ideas are clearly brought out, the words are good Saxon, and the style is forcible. Here, for instance, is an extract from one of his youthful sermons, and we venture to say that if it were found in Milton's prose works it would receive high praise. It is better in a literary point of view than much which Milton wrote:—.

Lastly, often meditate on the joys of heaven. Think, think with what unspeakable glory those happy souls are now encircled, who when on earth were called to deny themselves, and were not disobedient to the call. Hark! methinks I hear them chanting their everlasting hallelujahs, and spending an eternal day in echoing triumphant songs of joy. And do you not long, my brethren, to join this heavenly choir? Do not your hearts burn within you? As the hart panteth after the water-brooks, do not your souls so long after the blessed company of these sons of God? Behold, then, a heavenly ladder reached down to you by which you may climb to this holy hill. If any man will come after them, let him deny himself and follow them. By this we, even we, may be lifted up into the same blissful regions, there to enjoy an eternal rest with the people of God, and join with them in singing doxologies and songs of praise to the everlasting, blessed, all glorious, most adorable Trinity for ever and ever.

It would be easy to quote similar passages in his sermons, which, with all their faults, are worth reading. His warnings to sinners to "flee from the wrath to come," are most impressive. Some of his illustrations are very beautiful, and modern preachers would do well to remember them. Once when he was preaching from the text, "Wherefore glorify ye the Lord in the fires," he says:—

When I was some years ago at Shields, I went into a glass house and saw a workman take a piece of glass and put it into three furnaces in succession. I asked, "Why do you put it into so many fires?" He answered, "O sir, the first was not hot enough, nor the second, and therefore we put it into the third; that will make it transparent." O, thought I, does this man put this glass into one furnace after another, that it may be made perfect? Then, O my God, put me into one furnace after another, that my soul may be transparent!

One of the best sermons was the last which he preached, and has a startling comparison. "Works, works! a man get to heaven by works. I would as soon think of climbing to the moon on a rope of sand!" It also has one of those abrupt and happy transitions which show, we hardly know which, the instinct or the art of a great orator: "I go to rest prepared; my sun has arisen, and by aid from heaven has given light to many. It is now about to set for—no! it is about to rise to the zenith of immortal glory."

There are many quaint expressions in both his sermons and letters, which come partly from reading his favorite work, Matthew Henry's Commentary. That famous commentary, it may be said in passing, is a work not so much of learning as of power. Robert Hall, like Whitefield, used to study it daily, and we cannot read a page of it without being well rewarded. Though John Wesley did not fancy Henry's quaint sayings, and purposely refrained from putting them into his "Notes," yet they will always charm the average reader. Whitefield reflected Henry's style when he used such expressions as "Paul could stand a whipping but not a weeping farewell," and, (speaking of baptismal controversies,) "It is a strange thing how bigots can set the world on fire by throwing water at each other."

Tyerman thinks (i, 98) that it was imprudent in Whitefield to attack in his sermons the class of godless ministers which was then in the Church. He admits that there were "ample grounds" for such an attack, but it resulted in no good; it was not politic, and exposed the preacher to retaliatory criticisms. From this opinion we differ. Whitefield was just the man to sharply rebuke those worthless clergymen who cared little for their flocks—except for their fleece—and ran, somewhat disguised, to the horse-races, the dancing halls, the card rooms, the taverns, and the theaters. In New England the "half-way

covenant" brought in a host of unconverted ministers. Whitefield did good when he rebuked these false prophets, and the Church feels the effect of his labors to day. The leading man in New England was Governor Belcher, and he earnestly exhorted the great preacher to "go on in stirring up the ministers, for," said he, "judgment must begin at the house of God." And in his righteous denunication he was sustained by the most spiritually minded preachers, both in Great Britain and in America.

The industry and the power of endurance which he showed for many years was marvelous. In one place he preached nine times, and expounded nearly eighteen times in a single week. In four days in midwinter he preached twelve sermons in the open air, and three in the chapels. At Alnwick he preached three sermons a day during the week of the races. His preaching was constant, and was not interrupted by a month's vacation every year, spent among the mountains or by the sea-shore. As a result he was, according to John Wesley, an old man before his time, and he had to put himself on what he called "short allowance," that is, he had to deny himself, and preach only once a day, except on Sunday, when he preached thrice! Well might such a man write, "I scarce know what it is to have an idle moment."

That which sustained him was the fact that his work was his delight. He rejoiced in the act of preaching to the thousands which gathered in the open fields, as the sailor rejoices when the gale blows, or the soldier when he plunges into the smoke of battle. The love of preaching rose to a sublime passion. It is pleasant to notice the exultant spirit of the man, as it found expression in his numerous letters. "Field preaching is my place," he writes; "In this I am carried on eagle's wings." "I am never better than when I am on the full stretch for God." "I want a thousand tongues to praise him." "Mounts are the best pulpits and the heavens the best sounding boards. O for a power to equal my will! I would fly from pole to pole, publishing the everlasting Gospel of the Son of God." He asserts that he does not repent of being "a poor, despised, cast out, and now almost worn out itinerant." It makes him very happy to be "ranging and hunting in the American woods after poor sinners." He declared that he thought every day

but that was not spent in field preaching, and exclaims, "O that death may find me either praying or preaching!" He rose from the sick-bed, and stood in the pulpit as pale as death, and preached to the people with earnestness and power. A man with such a spirit was sure to make his influence deeply felt. To such a one the glowing exhortation which Howell Harris gave was needless, "Go on and blaze abroad the fame of Jesus till you take your flight to bow with the innumerable company before his unutterable glory."

We had intended to say something of Whitefield's work in founding, and in sustaining while he lived, the Orphan House in Georgia; and also of his controversies with Wesley. But these are not matters of abiding interest, and our space is limited. The orphanage was burned and was not rebuilt, and the controversy with Wesley is not now of the slightest importance. Neither does the present generation care about the war of the pamphlets which Whitefield unwillingly gave rise to, and which Tyerman records with much minuteness. Some of these pamphlets are eulogistic, some of them are critical, and many of them are grossly abusive; but all of them put together have not the slightest effect in determining Whitefield's place in history. Posterity has given its verdict about the man, and from that verdict there is no appeal.

His last sermon was preached in the open fields at Exeter, New Hampshire, before a great multitude. He arose wearily; his voice was hoarse, and he seemed to be exhausted. But soon his voice rang out as of old; he spoke with unusual earnestness, and held the people spell-bound by his oratory. He then left for Newburyport, where he was to preach on the following day. While at supper the people flocked in front of the house to hear a few words from him. "Brother," he said to one who was near by, "you must speak to the people. I cannot say a word." He took a candle and hastened to his room, but before he reached it the "ruling spirit, strong in death," made him pause, and, turning to the crowd, he gave his last exhortation. He spoke with tenderness, and he kept on speaking "until the candle which he held in his hand burned away, and went out in its socket." That candle was a type of his own life, which consumed itself in giving light. The same night he died. He had more than once expressed a wish to die suddenly, and that

wish was realized. His work and his life ended together, and no doubt "sudden death" was to him "sudden glory."

The news of his death awoke grief in England and in America, and many tributes were paid to his memory. John Wesley, who had known him for thirty-seven years, preached a memorial sermon to an "immense multitude" in Tottenham Court Road Chapel; and Cowper, in his poem on "Hope," described him as a man of blameless life and of flaming zeal. Weeping thousands followed the remains from the house where he died to the church where they were deposited.

In the year 1749, when Whitefield was but thirty-four years of age, William Pulteney, Earl of Bath, a statesman of great ability, prophesied thus in a letter to the Countess of Huntingdon: "Mocked and reviled as Mr. Whitefield is by all ranks of society, still I contend that the day will come when England will be just, and own his greatness as a reformer and his goodness as a minister of the most high God." That day has come, and we hope the day will also come when England will pay to the memory of the greatest of modern evangelists a fitting tribute—a memorial tablet in Westminster Abbey.

Art. VIII.—"ATONEMENT" OF THE EARLY CHURCH NO PRICE PAID TO SATAN.

Instances have not been wanting in recent times of the *unqualified* declaration, that the Church for the first thousand years of its history taught that the redemptive price was paid to the devil. The worth or worthlessness of such a statement may best be judged by viewing it in the light of its several implications. Taking theological language in the sense which usage has given it, the following may fairly be classed under the implications of the statement in question: 1. The entire Church, in the thousand years preceding the teaching of Anselm, allowed a positive right in the devil over fallen men. 2. It conceived of a contract based on this right—a proposed exchange between God and the devil. 3. It taught that the devil gained in the transaction something which he coveted. 4. It considered this transaction with the devil, this paying to

him of a ransom, a pre-eminent factor in the saving office of Christ.

It is a very serious breach in the above statement that not one of the things which it implies is so much as intimated by any Church teacher till near the end of the second century, if even at that date. Baur, who has gone as far as any historian of rank in crediting the early Church with the theory of a ransom paid to the devil, discovers no trace of such a theory till he comes to the writings of Irenæus, composed near the close of the second century. He thinks, indeed, that the Gnostic representations of a dealing between the Supreme Being and the Demiurge prefigured and prepared for the theory, but still makes no pretense of finding even an obscure expression of the theory itself prior to Irenæus. An examination of the writings of the early Church will show that Baur has not overlooked any materials that might be to his purpose. Abundant references to the sufferings and death of Christ appear, and his saving office is magnified from a variety of stand-points. The idea that he is the one and the perfect Mediator is clearly set forth. Says Clement of Rome: "Jesus Christ is the high-priest of all our offerings, the defender and helper of our infirmity. By him we look up to the heights of heaven; by him we behold, as in a glass, his immaculate and most excellent visage; by him are the eyes of our hearts opened; by him our foolish and darkened understanding blossoms up anew toward his marvelous light; by him the Lord has willed that we should taste of immortal knowledge."—Epistle i, chap. xxxvi. Ignatius gives an equally vivid expression to the same sentiment, speaking of Christ as the "high-priest to whom the holy of holies has been committed, and who alone has been intrusted with the secrets of God;" as "the door of the Father, by which Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the prophets, and the apostles, and the Church, enter."—*Philadel.*, chap. ix. Again, the early fathers give abundant expression to the idea of vicarious sacrifice. "Let us look," says Clement of Rome, "steadfastly to the blood of Christ, and see how precious to God is that blood, which, having been shed for our salvation, has set the grace of repentance before the whole world."—Epistle i, chap. vii. "On account of the love he bore us, Jesus Christ gave his blood for us by

the will of God; his flesh for our flesh, and his soul for our souls."—Chap. xlix. The same teaching finds a beautiful expression in the Epistle to Diognetus: "He himself took on him the burden of our iniquities; he gave his own Son a ransom for us; the holy One for transgressors; the blameless One for the wicked; the righteous for the unrighteous; the incorruptible for the corruptible; the immortal for the mortal. For what could cover our sins save his righteousness? By whom could we, the wicked and ungodly, be justified, save by the only Son of God? O sweet exchange! O unsearchable operation! O benefits surpassing all expectation! that the wickedness of many should be hid by a single righteous One, and that the righteousness of one should justify many transgressors!"—Chap. ix. The positive introduction of a new life into the human sphere was another of the cardinal features of Christ's work as emphasized by the early Church. Says Ignatius: "Wickedness disappeared, ignorance was removed, and the old kingdom abolished, God himself being manifested in human form to bring in a new eternal life."—*Eph.*, chap. xix. "I desire the drink of God, namely, his blood, which is incorruptible love and eternal life."—*Rom.*, chap. vii. Justin Martyr, (about the middle of the second century,) and those that followed him, frequently viewed the work of Christ with reference to its effect upon the demon world, or the dominion of Satan—a point on which earlier writers appear comparatively silent. He speaks of the demons as trembling at the power of Christ's name, as "subdued to his name and the dispensation of his suffering."—*Dialogue with Trypho*, chap. xxx. He represents the advent of Christ as revealing to Satan for the first time his everlasting doom, and so stirring him up to begin his blasphemy against God. (*Fragment in Irenæus*: "Christ, the Son of God," says he, "submitted to become incarnate in order that by this dispensation the serpent that sinned in the beginning, and the angels like him, may be destroyed, and that death may be contemned."—*Trypho*, chap. xlv. As these passages indicate, the only relation which Justin Martyr affirms on the part of Christ's work to the dominion of Satan is one of limitation and destruction. He nowhere intimates that a redemptive price was due to Satan, or was paid to him. This theological phantom belongs to a later age

Unless Irenæus was an exception, the fathers of the first two centuries gave no place to it among the rich gems of their soteriology.

This brings us to the case of Irenæus. Did he teach that the redemptive price was paid to the devil? Among all his extant writings there are only two passages which in any degree justify the imputation of such a theory to him. The first of these is as follows: "We have received, according to the ministrations of the Word, who is perfect in all things as the mighty Word, and very man, who, redeeming us by his own blood in a manner consonant to reason, gave himself as a redemption for those who had been led into captivity. And since the apostasy tyrannized over us unjustly, and, though we were by nature the property of the omnipotent God, alienated us contrary to nature, rendering us its own disciples, the Word of God, powerful in all things, and not defective with regard to his own justice, did turn righteously even against that apostasy, and redeem from it his own property; not by violent means, as the [apostasy] had obtained dominion over us at the beginning, when it insatiably snatched away what was not its own, but by means of persuasion, as became a God of counsel, who does not use violent means to obtain what he desires; so that neither should justice be infringed upon, nor the ancient handiwork of God go to destruction."—*Heresies*, book v, chap. i, sec. 1. The second passage occurs but a page or two after the first. "The advent, therefore, of him whom these men represent as coming to the things of others was not righteous, nor did he truly redeem us by his own blood, if he did not really become man, restoring to his own handiwork what was said [of it] in the beginning, that man was made after the image and likeness of God; not snatching away by stratagem the property of another, but taking possession of his own in a righteous and gracious manner. As far as concerned the apostasy, indeed, he redeems us righteously from it by his own blood; but as regards us who have been redeemed, graciously. For we have given nothing to him previously, nor does he desire anything from us, as if he stood in need of it; but we do stand in need of fellowship with him."

To one having the theory already in mind the above passages, viewed by themselves, might seem to countenance the

conclusion that Irenæus taught that the redemptive price was paid to the apostasy, that is, to the devil. Such a conclusion, however, is contradicted, not by some sentence of an isolated work written at a different time in the author's life, and perchance from a different stand-point, but by the whole context—one might say by the whole argument—of the very book in which the passages quoted occur. Two phrases need to be considered. Irenæus says that God redeemed his property from the apostasy not by violent means, but by *persuasion.* Upon whom was this persuasion exercised? Certainly not upon the devil, but upon man. This interpretation suits perfectly the antithesis which Irenæus endeavors to set forth. While the devil, with infamous greed and treachery, snatched away man, who did not belong to him, God recovers his own, brings back man to himself by means perfectly fair and open. Through the incarnate Word he powerfully addresses the reason, conscience, and higher interests of man. Thus, without the use of any questionable expedient, he *persuades man* to escape the bonds of Satan by persuading him to leave his sins; these bonds, as Irenæus explicitly states, being identical with "transgression and apostasy."—Chap. v, 21, 3. His idea may be counted the same as the following in the epistle to Diognetus: "As a Saviour he sent him, and as seeking to persuade, not to compel us; for violence has no place in the character of God."—Chap. vii. If Irenæus would have it appear that God respected the claim of Satan, and would *persuade* him to relinquish it by the offer of a recompense, why does he go on to speak of Christ as the stronger than the strong man, who, binding the latter, takes from him those unjustly held in captivity? (Chap. v, 21, 3.) Why does he represent Christ as "waging war against our enemy, and crushing him who had at the beginning led us away captives in Adam, and trampling on his head!"—Chap. v, 21, 1. Unless we assume that Irenæus was exceedingly ambitious to contradict himself, and that within a small compass, it is preposterous to affirm that he understood the divine persuasion to have been exercised upon the devil.

The other expression claiming attention is the statement that the incarnate God, so far as concerned the apostasy, redeemed us righteously from it by his own blood; so far as concerns us

he redeemed graciously. This language may *suggest* the conclusion that the redemptive price was regarded as paid to Satan, but it by no means *necessitates* such a conclusion. New Testament usage abundantly illustrates that to redeem from a thing does not necessarily imply the payment to that thing of a price; it may signify simply rescue or deliverance therefrom. It would do no violence to the language of Irenæus, as we think, were it paraphrased on this wise: Over against the devil God showed himself as supremely righteous, over against man as supremely gracious. He showed himself supremely righteous in that he accomplished man's redemption by moral means and especially by self-sacrifice; in that he did not requite stratagem with stratagem, usurpation with usurpation, but took back his own in a way fully accordant with the free agency of his creatures. Even the extreme provocation of the usurper did not drive him into any violent proceeding. Through a human nature assumed and made obedient even unto the death of the cross, he presented the most perfect and rational offset to the dominion of the devil, or, what in the view of Irenæus was the same thing, the dominion of sin over man. In the whole mode and manner of the deliverance God showed forth his righteousness so signally, that even the devil could not impeach it, in the deliverance itself, his grace toward men. It may be fairly inferred that Irenæus meant no more than did John of Damascus by the following: "His goodness shines forth in this, that he did not despise the weakness of his creature, but pitied the fate of the fallen, and extended to him his hand: his justice in this, that, man being conquered, he did not rescue him from the tyrant through another, nor by force snatch him from death, but him whom death, on account of sin, had sentenced to his servitude, the good and just made a victor again, and, what seemed beyond the power of any art, he restored the like by the like," [that is, human nature by human nature.]—*De Fide Orth.*, chap. iii, 1. But John of Damascus distinctly repudiated the doctrine that the redemptive price was paid to the devil. That Irenæus did not think of Christ's blood being given to the devil as a ransom is clearly intimated by the fact that he nowhere allows a right in the devil over fallen men, but uniformly represents his dominion as a usurped and iniquitous dominion. A second fact in the direction of the same con-

clusion is the statement that God did not, like the devil, resort to stratagem; for if he had engaged to give a redemptive price to the devil, which was no real gain to the latter, but simply a means of overthrow, it would have been a supreme instance of stratagem. So manifest was this to the fathers themselves that those who went furthest in acknowledging the payment of a ransom to Satan went furthest, also, in confessing herein a divine stratagem. The redemptive price reposed on their theory to remain a redemptive price, and turned into a bait to decoy Satan to his defeat. A third fact of similar import is the representation of Irenæus that the advent and sayings of Christ revealed to the devil for the first time his everlasting doom. (Chap. v, 26, 2.) How should the same God who came with this revelation be thought as coming with the offer of a treaty to the son of perdition?

Again, Irenæus uses language which indicates that the blood or offered life of Christ was understood to be not a ransom from the claim of the devil, but a means of positive commendation to God. What other sense can be attributed to the following? "And not by the aforesaid things alone has the Lord manifested himself, but also by means of his passion. For doing away with that disobedience of man which had taken place at the beginning by the occasion of a tree, 'He became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross;' rectifying that disobedience which had occurred by reason of a tree, through that obedience which was upon the tree."—Chapter v, 16, 3. Still further, the way in which Irenæus sets forth his more specific explanation of how men are freed from the bonds of the devil indicates strongly that he thought of a ransom from him only in the sense of rescue or recovery. After emphasizing the idea that in all fitness man must be recovered through man, the vanquished and sinful human nature through a victorious and righteous human nature, he thus describes the dissolution of the devil's dominion: "The Word of God, the Maker of all things, conquering him by means of a human nature, and, showing him to be an apostate, has put him under the power of man. For he says: 'Behold, I confer upon you the power of treading upon serpents and scorpions, and upon all the power of the enemy,' in order that, as he obtained dominion over man by apostasy, so again his apostasy might be de-

prived of power by means of man turning back again to God." —Chapter v, 24, 4. Here evidently the power of the devil over men is represented as overthrown, not by the canceling of any claim of his through a ransom, but through men being attracted to the person and the righteousness of the incarnate Word. It is finally an evidence worth mentioning, that neither Tertullian, a contemporary in the West, nor Hippolytus, a disciple of Irenæus, give any countenance in their writings to the idea that the redemptive price was paid to Satan. A preponderance of evidence compels us to agree with Duncker, Hagenbach, Gieseler, Dorner, and Kahnis in the verdict that the charge of teaching the obnoxious tenet is not proved against this noble theologian of the early Church.

Irenæus gives us quite a symmetrical and finished view of Christ's saving office, without the assistance of any such ingredient. As he represents, Christ's obedience offsets man's disobedience, and so makes man fitly an object of divine grace. Christ, as the second Adam, *recapitulates* the race in himself, provides for it a new center and head, sanctifies human nature in his own person, redeems it from death, sets up, so to speak, the standard of a renewed humanity, and imparts new life to all who in faith submit to him. It may not be certain that Irenæus regarded the vicarious office of Christ as necessary in the sense of being *absolutely* required by the divine *nature* as a condition of the forgiveness of sins; but he at least regarded it as relatively necessary, the means of recovering man supremely suited to the divine administration. He resembles Anselm in his emphasis upon the truth that a God-man alone is properly qualified to fulfill the office of a redeemer, but differs from him in making the introduction of man to divine association, and the imparting to him of a divine life, quite as prominent features in the work of the God-man as satisfaction to justice. "It was for this end," says he, "that the Word of God was made man, and he who was the Son of God became the Son of man, that man, having been taken into the Word, and receiving the adoption, might become the son of God; for by no other means could we have attained to incorruptibility and immortality, unless first incorruptibility and immortality had become that which we also are, so that the corruptible might be swallowed up by incorruptibility, and the mortal by

immortality, that we might receive the adoption of sons."—Ch. iii, 19, 1.

As Baur allows that Origen was the first to give a wider development to the theory which he attributes to Irenæus, (*Dogmengeschichte*, i, 642,) we may next proceed to consider the teachings of the Alexandrian genius. What ought we to expect from this mystical, original, and bold speculator? Shall we not find in him, on the subject of redemption, more fertility than consistency and sobriety of thought? Will not his excessive eclecticism, manifested in other connections, incline him here to go beyond the bounds of Christian ideas, and to admit some foreign elements—elements bearing more or less of a Gnostic and heathen tinge? Such is evidently the case. Origen is far from exhibiting the simplicity and consistency which characterize Irenæus' exposition of Christ's work. It is a party-colored picture which he gives. Views noble and crude are intermingled. We find with him a class of expressions nowhere to be discovered in the writings of any previous Church teacher. He makes distinct mention of a right in the devil over fallen men, of a contract based upon that right, and of the payment of a redemptive price to the adversary. The following passages are, perhaps, the most explicit upon these points that can be quoted from the writings of Origen: "We have been redeemed by the precious blood of the Only-begotten. If, therefore, we have been purchased by a price, we have, without doubt, been purchased from another whose servants we were, who also proposed the price which he wished as a condition of releasing from his power those whom he was holding. But the devil, to whom we had been drawn by our sins, was holding us. Therefore he proposed, as the price of our redemption, the blood of Christ, which alone was so precious as to suffice for all."—*Comm. in Rom.*, ii, 13. "To whom did he give his soul as a redemptive price for many? Not, indeed, to God. Was it, then, to the evil one? He truly had us in his power till the soul of Jesus was given as a redemptive price to him, deceived with the idea that he could possess it, nor reflecting that he could not endure the pains involved in retaining it. Wherefore, death, which appeared to have subjected him to its own dominion, now rules him no more, since he was made free among the dead, and was

stronger than the power of death, and in such sense stronger that whosoever of those whom death had conquered wished to follow him were able to do so, death possessing no more power against them; for whosoever is with Jesus cannot be assailed with death. . . . The soul of the Son of God was given as a redemptive price for us, but not his spirit, for he delivered that to the Father, saying, 'Into thy hands I commend my spirit;' nor, indeed, his body, for there is no intimation of this in Scripture. And, since he gave his soul as a redemptive price for many, but it did not remain with him to whom it had been given, he says in the fifteenth Psalm, 'Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell.'"—*In Matt.*, tom. xvi, 8. We have in the above an abundant illustration of a point already noted. The acknowledgment of a right in Satan, and the payment to him of a redemptive price, turn out to be a mere sham. He makes no new acquisition, and loses the dominion already possessed. In the contract formed divine Wisdom took advantage of his blindness, and over-reached him entirely. It is also an incongruity that Origen in one place uses language which militates against the idea of any contract existing. He says that while God delivered up the Son out of compassion toward the race, and Judas delivered him up out of avarice, Satan delivered him up "from fear, lest the human race, through his instruction, should be taken from his grasp."—*Comm. in Matt. Series*, § 75. Here there is no mention of any stipulations, no indication that the adversary thought of conceding any thing in return for the death of Christ. He delivers him to crucifixion to protect the dominion over men already possessed. So little of any thing like a real exchange appears according to the total representation of Origen, that Gieseler concludes that he did not have such in mind. "Origen does not consider," says he, "that Christ, in the proper sense, gave his soul as a ransom to the devil, but only in a figurative and qualified sense."—*Blos Bildlich und Uneigentlich.* This is a charitable conclusion, and it is only to be hoped that it is not over-charitable.

This mystic transaction with the devil by no means completed the circle of Origen's contemplation of the saving office of Christ. It may not be a superior, but it is a different view which Origen brings forward, when, borrowing the heathen idea of magic, he discerns a kind of divine magic in the death

of Christ. "Did not," says he, "the disciples of Jesus see, when they ventured to prove that he who was crucified yesterday, or the day before, underwent this death voluntarily in behalf of the human race, that this was analogous to the case of those who have died for their country in order to remove pestilence, or barrenness, or tempests? For it is probable that there is in the nature of things, for certain mysterious reasons which are difficult to be understood by the multitude, such a virtue, that one just man dying a voluntary death for the common good might be the means of removing wicked spirits which are the cause of plagues, or barrenness, or tempests, or similar calamities."—*Against Celsus*, i, 31. "When the souls of those who die for the Christian faith depart from the body with great glory, they destroy the power of the demons, and frustrate their designs against men."—*Against Celsus*, viii, 44. But views reaching into a much higher range are found with Origen. The office of Christ in conjoining the human and the divine, and in dispensing thereby a new life to men, is not overlooked. "That," says he, "which is predicted by the prophets is worthy of God: that he who is the brightness and express image of the divine nature should come into the world with the holy human soul which was to animate the body of Jesus, to sow the seed of his word, which might bring all who received and cherished it into union with the Most High God."—*Against Celsus*, vii, 17. "From him there began the union of the divine with the human nature, in order that the human, by communion with the divine, might rise to be divine, not in Jesus alone, but in all those who not only believe but enter upon the life which Jesus taught, and which elevates to friendship with God and communion with him every one who lives according to the precepts of Jesus."—iii, 28. The view, however, which occurs with special frequency in the writings of Origen is that Christ in his passion presented a holy sacrifice to God. If he saw in the death of Christ a Satanward aspect, he saw no less a Godward aspect, and he certainly emphasized the latter as much as the former. Speaking of the typical import of the priest's act in placing his hand upon the head of the victim, he says that he placed the sins of the human race on his head. "For he himself is the head of the body, his Church."—*Hom. in Lev.*, i, 3. The sacrifices,

generally, of the Mosaic dispensation are represented as looking forward to the incarnate Son. "Almost every victim that is offered has somewhat of the form and image of Christ. For in him every victim is recapitulated, insomuch that all victims have ceased which preceded him in type and shadow."—*Hom. in Lev.*, iii, 5. It is distinctly stated that the sacrifice was unto God. "He who was made in the likeness of men, and was found in fashion as a man, presented to God for the sin which he had received from us (for he bore our sins) an immaculate victim, that is, his spotless flesh."—*Hom. in Lev.*, iii, 1. This offering, moreover, had in some sense a propitiating effect upon God. "Through the offering of his own body he made God propitious to men."—*Comm. in Rom.*, iii, 8. While every death for righteousness' sake is conceived as having a certain power to cover sins, it is maintained that the death of Christ alone has power to cover the sins of the world. "Purer than all the living, this man dies for the people, bearing our sins and infirmities, for he was able to blot out all the sins of the whole world received into himself, since he did no sin, neither was deceit found in his mouth."—*In John, tom.* xxviii, 14. The benefit of Christ's sacrifice is pictured as extending not only to men, but to all rational beings. "Not only for the earthly, but also for the heavenly, was the victim Jesus offered.—*Hom. in Lev.*, i, 3. Thus it appears that the payment of a redemptive price to Satan was only one factor in Origen's view of Christ's saving office; a factor, too, made no more prominent than the strongly contrasted idea of a sacrifice to God.

Gregory of Nyssa, who wrote in the last half of the fourth century, was the most Origenistic of all the distinguished admirers of Origen. Very naturally, therefore, we find in him a reproduction of Origen's theory of a dealing with the devil. In one point he goes beyond Origen, representing the incarnation itself as a means of decoying the adversary to the desired transaction. His exposition of the subject is no less peculiar and fanciful than that of his ingenious predecessor. "Those," says he, "who have sold their liberty for money, becoming the slaves of the purchasers, as having sold their own selves, and it is permitted neither to them, nor to another for them, to proclaim their liberty; and if any one in his regard for the

person sold uses force against the purchaser, he will appear unjust, as wresting away by violence that which was legally acquired; but if any one is willing to redeem the slave, there is no law which forbids. In like manner, when we by our own will had sold ourselves, it was fitting that he who was about to restore us to liberty should think of no tyrannical, but of a just, mode of recovery. But the just mode is to give whatever ransom the possessor desires. What, therefore, is it probable that he who has the rule will prefer? For what will he who through envy closed his eyes to the good, and became filled with the lust of dominion, exchange him who is in his possession, except for the highest price, receiving more for the less, so that he may feed his passion of pride? But he was aware that the traditions and records of preceding ages gave account of nothing comparable with that which he saw in him who now appeared. [Here Gregory enumerates the wonders of Christ's ministry.] The enemy, therefore, perceiving this power in him, sees that gain is to be made by an exchange. Therefore he desires greatly that he should become the ransom of those shut up in the prison of death. But, as being unable to behold the naked face of God, he could not have looked upon him unless he had discerned in him a portion of flesh like unto that which through sins he held in chains. Therefore the divinity was veiled, so that directing his attention to that which was familiar to him, he might not be terrified by the approach of his exalted might, and regarding the power which through miracles shone gradually brighter and brighter, might reckon [the possession of him] more to be desired than feared. . . . . That our ransom might be taken by him who sought it, the divinity was hid by the veil of our nature, in order that with the bait of the flesh there might be lowered the hook of the divinity."—*Oratio Catech.*, xxii–xxiv. The deceit herein practiced Gregory of Nyssa attempted to palliate by the assurance that God designed it, among other ends, for the good of Satan himself, just as a physician who secretly mixes medicine with food may design it for the good of the patient—a mode of arguing not altogether inapt on the part of Gregory, who taught the recoverability of Satan.

Like others who held similar views, Gregory of Nyssa by no means confined his conceptions of Christ's raising office to the

narrow bounds of the above theory. Not to mention other features, he held the view, largely cherished by the Greek fathers, of a mystical life-power disseminated by Christ through humanity in virtue of his participation in human nature. "As the principle of death," says he, "proceeding from one, pervaded the entire human nature, so in like manner the principle of the resurrection has extended itself through One upon mankind. (Chap. xvi.)

Whatever acceptance Gregory of Nyssa's view about a transaction with the devil may have found, it cannot be regarded as properly representative of the theology of the Greek Church, either in his own or in any following century. We find no intimation that such a theory was taught by Eusebius of Cæsarea; and if Cyril of Jerusalem had any fellowship with it, (*Gieseler*, *Dog.*, 381,) it would seem to have received no prominent place at his hands. Eusebius enumerates the following causes for the death of Christ: "First, as by the Word himself, that he might rule among the dead as among the living; second, that He who was sacrificed for us and was made a curse for us might wash away the stains of our sins; third, that, as a victim of God and a great sacrifice, he might make an offering to the Most High for the sins of the whole world; fourth, that he might check the lying and demoniac power; fifth, that through his friends and disciples the hope of the future life might be proclaimed to all."—*Dem. Eve.*, iv, 12. Eusebius like Justin Martyr attributed to Christ's ministry and death a limiting power upon the agency of demons; but this, of course, implies nothing as to the payment of a ransom to the devil. Similar expressions may be found in the New Testament. (Col. ii, 15; Heb. ii, 14.) That Christ's death was a sacrifice to God he states explicitly in other passages as well as in the above. "It became the Lamb of God," says he, "to render to God a sacrifice for the whole human race, 'For since through man came death, through man also the resurrection from the dead.'"—Chap. x, 1. Says Cyril of Jerusalem: "We were enemies of God through sin, and God had declared that the sinner must die. One of two things, therefore, was necessary: either God, remaining constant, must destroy all; or, using clemency, must let go the determination which he had expressed. But behold the wisdom of God! He preserves

both the steadfastness of his purpose and efficacious working of his goodness. Christ bore our sins in his own body on the tree, so that we, through his death, dead to sins, might be made alive to righteousness."—*Catech.*, xiii, 33. Upon these two authors of the fourth century Baur makes this comment: "Cyril of Jerusalem emphasizes especially the fact that Christ took upon himself the punishment of sin in his own body, and as the one dying for us was of no little worth, since he was no mere man, but the incarnate God, and his righteousness was far greater than the unrighteousness of men. Also Eusebius of Cæsarea finds the significance of the death of Jesus, particularly therein, that he was punished for us, and took upon himself the sufferings which not he, but we alone, because of the multitude of our sins, ought to bear."— *Versöhungslehere*, p. 34.

We discover, also, no intimation that Athanasius taught the Origenistic theory of the payment of a ransom to the devil. He views the death of Christ from a very different stand-point. A God of truth, as he argues, must keep his word in respect to the death penalty against disobedience. At the same time, it is unfitting that God should allow rational beings, partakers of his own word, to go to destruction. What, then, shall be done? Repentance alone will not suffice, for if only this condition were imposed God's truthfulness would be invaded, and, besides, repentance can only restrain from future sins; it cannot remove the seeds of death, or the corruption of nature induced by previous transgressions. In the Word of God alone can the proper resource be found. Since, now, the Word saw that man's case could not be remedied save through death, and, "Because it was not possible that the Word, the immortal One, and the Son of God, should die, he assumed a body which was able to die, that, being made a partaker of the Word, it might suffice death for all, and on account of the Word dwelling within it might remain incorrupt, and that finally corruption, through the grace of the resurrection, might depart from all. Hence, by offering to death, as a sacrifice and victim free from every stain, the body which he took, he warded off death from all of a similar nature, his own being offered for the rest."—*De Incar.*, chap. vi–ix.

With Gregory of Nazianzen, (a contemporary of Gregory of Nyssa,) we find an emphatic repudiation of the theory that

a ransom was paid to the devil. "To whom," he asks, "was the blood, the costly and glorious blood of God, who was at the same time High-priest and sacrifice, rendered? We were in the power of the evil one, since we were sold under sin. If now the ransom was given to none other than the one holding dominion, I ask to whom was this presented, and on what account? Was it given to the enemy himself? Shame on the reckless thought! Then had the robber received not merely from God, but God himself, a countless reward for his tyranny." —*Ullmann, Greg. V. Naz.*, p. 318. Gregory, to be sure, found some difficulty in the idea that the ransom was paid to God; he did not see that the divine nature required such a payment; but he rejected with abhorrence the claim of Satan, and concluded that God received the ransom, inasmuch as the incarnation and death of Christ formed a part of a practical scheme of salvation.

"John of Damascus," says Baur, "repudiated with the same abhorrence as Gregory [of Nazianzen] the representation that the blood of the Lord was offered to the tyrant."—*Versöhn.*, p. 91. Moreover, he had no scruples about representing Christ's death as an offering to God, if we are to judge from the following: "He dies, receiving death for the sake of our salvation, offering himself as a sacrifice to the Father in our behalf. For against him had we sinned, and to him was to be paid the price of our redemption, that by means of this compact we might be freed from condemnation. For, far be it that the blood of the Lord should have been offered to the tyrant."—*De Fide Orth.*, chap. iii, 27.

As John of Damascus, who wrote in the eighth century, was an authority of note, and was largely instrumental in giving the final stamp to the theology of the Greek Church, his view is to be counted eminently representative of the Greek Church in his own and in the following centuries. It would appear, therefore, that it was only a partial and transient reception which the doctrine of Satan's claim received in the Greek Church. Its theology was fully dominated by this doctrine in no single century, and, taking the first thousand years together, the exceptions certainly outweigh the examples. Says Kahnis, referring to the theory of Gregory of Nyssa: "However, the teaching concerning the payment of a ransom to the devil found little acceptance in the East."—*Dogmatik*, ii, p. 241.

We return now to the Latin Church. Between Irenæus and Anselm the three most eminent and authoritative dogmatic theologians in the West were, undoubtedly, Augustine, (died 430,) Leo the Great, (461,) and Gregory the Great, (604.) Their views, therefore, represent quite a broad space in the history of doctrine in the Western Church. As respects Augustine, we find him acknowledging a certain right in Satan over fallen men. But he affirms no contract with the devil based upon that right—no exchange, either proposed or accomplished, in accordance with the terms of a contract. Satan lost his right over men by proceeding against the sinless Son of Man as though he were guilty. By exacting from the innocent Christ the suffering and death which were not due he forfeited all right to that which had been due from mankind. All that God gave to Satan was the opportunity to exercise his malice for a little season upon himself. And this was not unbecoming, for, inasmuch as Satan fell through pride, and through pride man was enticed into his power, nothing could be more fitting than that God should overthrow his dominion by his humility, putting proud and violent usurpation to shame by conquering it through meekness and suffering. "By the justice of God, in some sense," says Augustine, "the human race was delivered into the power of the devil. . . . But the way in which man was thus delivered into the power of the devil ought not to be so understood as if God did this, or commanded it to be done, but that he only permitted it, yet that justly. For when he abandoned the sinner the author of the sin immediately entered. Yet God did not certainly so abandon his own creature as not to show himself to him as God creating and quickening, and, among penal evils, bestowing also many good things upon the evil. For he hath not in anger shut up his tender mercies. Nor did he dismiss man from the law of his own power when he permitted him to be in the power of the devil, since even the devil himself is not estranged from the power of the Omnipotent. . . . If, therefore, the commission of sins through the just anger of God subjected man to the devil, doubtless the remission of sins through the merciful reconciliation of God rescues man from the devil. But the devil was to be overcome, not by the might of God, but by his righteousness. . . . For what is more mighty than

the Omnipotent? But since the devil, by the fault perversity, was made a lover of might and a forsaker and assailant of righteousness, . . . it pleased God that, in order to the rescuing of man from the power of the devil, the devil should be conquered, not by might, but by righteousness; and that so also men, imitating Christ, should seek to conquer the devil by righteousness, not by might. Not that might is to be shunned as though it were something evil; but the order must be preserved whereby righteousness is before it. . . . What, then, is the righteousness by which the devil is conquered? What, except the righteousness of Jesus Christ? And how was he conquered? Because when he found in him nothing worthy of death, yet he slew him. And certainly it is just that we, whom he held as debtors, should be dismissed free by believing in him whom he slew without any debt. In this way it is that we are said to be justified by the blood of Christ. . . . He conquered the devil first by righteousness, and afterward by might: namely, by righteousness because he had no sin, and was slain by him most unjustly; but by might because, having been dead, he lived again, never afterward to die." *On the Trinity*, xiii, chap. xii–xiv.

A man of comprehensive thought like Augustine did not, of course, limit his conceptions of Christ's saving office to the above theory. He gives clear evidence of his persuasion that the death of Christ, beyond the mere canceling of the claim of Satan, was a means of reconciliation with God, a sacrifice to God in behalf of men. Such, beyond question, is the force of the following: "The whole redeemed city, that is to say, the congregation and community of the saints, is offered to God as our sacrifice through the great High-priest, who offered himself to God in his passion for us, that we might be members of this glorious head, according to the form of a servant."—*City of God*, x, 6. In the form of a servant, he chose rather to be than to receive a sacrifice. Thus he is both the priest who offers and the sacrifice offered, (x, 20.) "He was able to expiate sins by dying, because he both died and not for sin of his own."—x, 24. "There was need for a mediator, that is, for a reconciler, who by the offering of one sacrifice, of which all the sacrifices of the law and the prophets were types, should take away this wrath" [of God.]—*The Enchiridion*, chap. xxxiii.

Augustine also emphasized all the essential features of what is called the moral theory of the atonement, in the deeper sense in which that theory is held by those who acknowledge the proper divinity of Christ. He discovers a profound moral power in the divine humility exhibited through the cross. "It was expedient," says he, "that a mediator, who alone of the human race was born, lived, and died without sin, should reconcile us to God, and procure even for our bodies a resurrection to eternal life, in order that the pride of man might be exposed and cured by the humility of God, [and] that an example might be set to disobedient man in the life of obedience of the God-man."—*Enchirid.*, chap. cviii. With especial stress Augustine sets forth the moral power of the divine love revealed in Christ. He suggests that "it was mainly for this purpose that Christ came, to wit, that man might learn how much God loves him." "What greater reason," he asks, "is apparent for the advent of the Lord than that God might show his love in us, commending it powerfully, inasmuch as 'while we were yet sinners Christ died for us.' And, furthermore, this is with the intent that, inasmuch as charity is 'the end of the commandment," and 'the fulfilling of the law,' we also may love one another, and lay down our life for the brethren, even as he laid down his life for us. And with regard to God himself, its object is that, even if it were an irksome task to love him, it may now at least cease to be irksome for us to return his love, seeing that 'he first loved us,' and 'spared not his only Son, but delivered him up for us all;' for there is no mightier invitation to love than to anticipate in loving."—*Catechising*, chap. iv.

Leo the Great and Gregory the Great held substantially the same theory as Augustine respecting the claim of Satan and the manner in which it was canceled. If the idea that Satan was outwitted was too agreeable that they should pass it by altogether, it did not essentially modify their theory. The deception, in their view, did not at all concern the terms of a contract; was simply the liability of misconception imposed upon the rash and malicious adversary by Christ's human appearance. It is to be observed, also, that Gregory, however distinctly he confesses the claim of Satan, betrays a suspicion that it is not much of a claim after all. In one passage he styles it a *quasi* justice by which Satan held man—(*quasi*

juste tenuit hominem.) This appears like a plain suggestion of the interpretation given by Peter Lombard, one of the last to tolerate the phraseology of a right in Satan. He says: "Unjustly did the devil, so far as he himself was concerned, hold man, but man was justly held, because, while the devil never deserved to have power over man, man deserved through his transgression to suffer the tyranny of the devil." Here the right of the devil is set down as simply God's right to punish man by leaving him under Satanic power; that is, no right at all in the devil himself.

As to the teaching of those who succeeded Gregory the Great, we have the following statement from Baur: "While, according to Augustine, the devil had the full property right upon men, Leo the Great declared it at least a tyrannical right, and Gregory the Great, although, on the one hand, he could not deny the reality of the right, on the other, declared it a merely seeming right, and the following teachers of the Church, without laying any special stress upon the idea of right, remain rather by the indefinite representation that man, in consequence of his sin, fell into the power of the devil."—*Versöhn.*, p. 68.

Thus it is seen that it cannot properly be said that the Latin Church, even from Augustine to Anselm, to say nothing about the preceding centuries, taught that the redemptive price was paid to Satan. The natural implications of such a statement are not found to be fulfilled. While the leading theologians of the West, after the fourth century, allowed a certain claim in Satan upon fallen man, they neither assumed the existence of a contract with Satan nor of an exchange in answer to that contract; and, moreover, they made prominent other and very different features of Christ's saving office.

The inquiry how an acknowledgment of a claim in Satan gained the degree of currency that it did is not altogether easy to answer. But at least some intimations are at hand. From what is long and even fiercely opposed there is often an unconscious borrowing through the simple influence of close contact. Writers who contended against the Gnostics may have been tempted to borrow a little from their representations of the Demiurge—his rule over men and his unwitting defeat of himself through the death of the Messiah, only applying to

Satan what the Gnostics had previously ascribed to Jehovah or the Demiurge. (See, for example, Marcion's view in Neander's *Kirchengeschichte*, ii, 176, 177.) The idea that heathenism was under the patronage of demons, joined with the experience of awful persecutions from the heathen power, tended to give most vivid impressions of the might of Satanic rule. Hence, when an adventurous writer like Origen, borrowing his suggestion from the Gnostics, or (what is quite as possible) from an imperfect exegesis of the Bible, had once started the theory of a right in Satan over fallen men, and of a ransom from his possession through Christ, it was too much in line with the sentiments of the age not to receive a degree of countenance.

As the review may have served to indicate, the Church fathers combined many aspects in their total view of Christ's saving office. Upon no one feature was an exclusive emphasis laid. Abundant expression was given to the idea that Christ's holy obedience and death were a most precious tribute to divine justice; but it was not emphasized relatively as much as it has been since the time of Anselm. It may be doubted whether it was the current idea among the theologians of these centuries that the divine nature in itself permitted of no other method of salvation than the one chosen—absolutely required the mediational work of a God-man as a condition of pardon. (See quotations from Athanasius and others in Baur's Versöhn., pp. 84, 85.) The subject was reviewed more from the ground of superlative fitness than of absolute necessity—more from the stand-point of the requirements of wise and salutary administration than of the demands of the divine nature. Probably the great majority would willingly have subscribed to the statement of the master theologian of the West: "We must show," says Augustine, "not, indeed, that no other mode was possible to God, to whose power all things are equally subject, but that there neither was nor need have been any other mode more appropriate for curing our misery. For what was so necessary for the building up of our hope, and for the freeing the minds of mortals, cast down by the condition of mortality itself, from despair of immortality, than that it should be demonstrated to us at how great a price God rated us, and how greatly he loved us?"—*On the Trinity*, xiii, 10.

Art. IX. — SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

American Catholic Review, April, 1878. (Philadelphia.)—1. Secret Societies in the United States. 2. Spiritualism versus Materialism. 3. Religious Communities: The Present Policy of the Holy See, particularly regarding Religious Communities having but Simple Vows. 4. The Mental Capacity of the American Indian as indicated by his Speech. 5. The Periodical Literature of the Day, and its Tendencies. 6. Emotion. 7. Pope Alexander the Sixth and his Original Traducers. 8. Pius the Ninth and his Pontificate.

Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1878. (Andover.)—1. Rothe on Dogmatics, Revelation, and Scripture. 2. Aristotle. 3. Christ's Words on the Duration of Future Punishment. 4. Horae Samaritanae; or, A Collection of various Readings of the Samaritan Pentateuch compared with the Hebrew and other ancient Versions. 5. The Extent of Inspiration. 6. "Is Eternal Punishment Endless?" 7. Mr. Joseph Cook's Lectures on Biology and Transcendentalism. 8. The Organic Reunion of Churches.

Congregational Quarterly, January, 1878. (Boston.) 1. John S. C. Abbott. 2. Books and their Uses. 3. Ritschl's Critical History of the Doctrine of Justification. 4. Congregational Necrology.

Lutheran Quarterly, April, 1878. (Gettysburgh.)—1. A Question Touching the Augsburg Confession. 2. Neurology and the Human Soul. 3. A Study of Francis Xavier. 4. Guarantees of Faith. 5. What is the Duty of the Church toward her Delinquent Members. 6. Adam. 7. The Scribes Before and in the Time of Christ. 8. The Higher Education Without God.

New-England Historical and Genealogical Register, April, 1878. (Boston.)—1. Biographical Sketch of Nathan C. Keep, M.D., D.M.D. 2. Letter of Rev. Experience Mayhew, 1758. 3. Notes on the Hon. John Adams of Nova Scotia and Boston. 4. Church Record of the Rev. Hugh Adams of Durham, N. H. 5. Address of the Hon. Marshal P. Wilder before the N. E. Historic Genealogical Society. 6. Autobiography of William Rotch. 7. Taxes under Gov. Andros. 8. A Yankee Privateersman in Prison, 1777–79. 9. Record Book of the First Church in Charlestown, Mass. 10. Longmeadow, Mass., Families. 11. The Perrin Family. 12. Abstracts of Early Deeds in Boston. 13. Prison Ships and Old Mill Prison, Plymouth, England. 14. The Waite Family of Malden. 15. Abstracts of Earliest Wills in Suffolk County, Mass. 16. Genealogy of the Eustis Family. 17. Supplement to the Diodati Family.

North American Review, May–June, 1878. (New York.)—1. Is the Republican Party in its Death-Struggle? 2. The Sovereignty of Ethics. 3. Commercial Relations with France. 4. Discipline in American Colleges. 5. The Army of the United States. Part II. 6. Is Man a Depraved Creature? 7. The Irrepressible Conflict undecided. 8. Chinese Immigration. 9. The Phonograph and its Future.

Southern Review, April, 1878. (Baltimore.)—1. The Christian Cosmos. 2. Mrs. Abigail Adams. 3. Christian Liberty. 4. Edwards on the Will. 5. Charles Kingsley. 6. How Gettysburgh was Lost. 7. The Creeds of Christendom. 8. Dr. Dabney and Dr. Bledsoe.

Theological Medium, a Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly, April, 1878. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. Church Discipline. 2. Divine Justice. 3. The Delay of Salvation. 4. An Inquiry Concerning John's Baptism. 5. The Origin of Sin. 6. Sources and Sketches of Cumberland Presbyterian History. 7. Infant Baptism and its Underlying Doctrines. 8. The Second International Sunday-School Convention.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, April, 1878. (Boston.)—1. Erigena and Universalism. 2. Man as Affected by his Surroundings. 3. The Book of Enoch. 4. Lewes' Foundation of a Creed. 5. Science Against Darwinism. 6. Preachers and Sermons. 7. The Committed Word.

The able editor of the Universalist Quarterly, Dr. Thayer, is pasturing in the richest of clover. He has gathered a series of passages indicating that there is a calm but very general reaction in the Protestant Church from the Genevan and Edwardean view of hell-fire, and anticipates as possible "a great land-slide into Universalism," or, at any rate, "toward" it. And this reaction discloses itself not from heterodox quarters, but from central evangelicism and from towering high-churchism. Of this reaction, as the attentive readers of our Quarterly are cognizant, we have been editorially prescient in past years; have spoken of it with a clearness and freedom exhibited in no other "orthodox" periodical; and yet without viewing it as any "slide" towards Universalism, or any departure from the doctrine of the irreversible ruin of the finally impenitent. We looked upon what we called "our stern Protestant eschatology" as a specialty in the Church, and not the universality. As to the Roman Church, in our notice of Priest Walworth's pamphlet we noticed that the predominant doctrine seemed to be that eternal penalty was according to character; and that characters of high moral and intellectual, yet not truly spiritual, cast, were in a state of eternal fruition suited to their nature, yet excluded from the pure vision of God which is truly the only heaven, and so were in "hell." This was the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas. Yet the Roman Church left it an open question. Every Romanist is free to believe or preach the Edwardean hell on his own responsibility. But authoritatively Rome taught the doctrine of purgatory, which, so far as the believers were concerned, was essential restorationism. In the Anglican Church the doctrine of eternal misery was explicitly struck from the obligatory Articles of Faith. The peremptory prescription of eternal materialistic hell-fire as the solely permissible belief comes, as we believe, from Geneva, and is part of "the doctrinal deformation of the Reformation" of which we spoke in a former Quarterly. Yet, whatever have been the authoritative prescriptions in the Church, the great body of believers has, with marked unanimity, in all past ages, held to

the doctrine of irreversible penalty and endless doom.* And this we believe to be the true basis: agreement as to eternal penalty, with freedom as to its nature and degree. If our Wesleyan-Arminian bodies maintain this position of unity and freedom, we do not apprehend any "land-slide into Universalism."

English Reviews.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1878. (London.)—1. The Origin and Growth of Sunday-schools in England. 2. The Laws of India. 3. M. Renan—the History of a Mind. 4. The Reading and Rendering of Romans v. 1. 5. Christian Theism. 6. The Vatican Council. 7. Conditional Immortality. 8. Didsbury Sermons.

QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1878. (London: New York reprint.)—1. The Crown and the Constitution. 2. The Church in the West Riding. 3. Giordano Bruno and Galileo Galilei. 4 Naval Education. 5. The Princes of India and the Proclamation of the Empire. 6. The Legislation of the Commonwealth. 7. Life and Times of James Madison. 8. Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century. 9. The Aggression of Russia and the Duty of Great Britain.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, April, 1878. (New York reprint.)—1. Sir Erskine May's Democracy in Europe. 2. Barry Cornwall's Life and Poems. 3. Skepticism in Geology. 4. Three Scottish Teachers. 5. Browning's Agamemnon and Campbell's Trachiniæ. 6. The Age of Bronze. 7. A Noble Queen. 8. The Naval Strength of England. 9. Torrens' Memoirs of Lord Melbourne. 10. The Present and the Future of the East.

This number contains two articles on archæology, or what we may call pre-Adamitism; and both, though written by persistent believers in the geologic man, are remarkable for their apologies for scientistic "extravagances," and for their retractions from positions that a few years since were asserted with peremptory and sublime arrogance against all who ventured to stand firm to Genesis in preference to the last boast of false science. "In the pursuit of a study so new," we are now told, "so fascinating, and so positive in its bases, it was to be expected that error and extravagances should at first occur." "It is as a volunteer in this contest that the author of 'Skepticism in Geology' has made a spirited and well-executed attack on what he terms 'certain excrescences on the great and incon-

* Quite remarkable are the words of the eminent Jesuit Petavius, as quoted by Dr. Newman, in his "Grammar of Assent," and which we venture to translate thus: "Concerning this revival (respiratione) of even damned men, nothing certain has as yet been decreed by the Catholic Church; for which reason this opinion of some most holy fathers must not be exploded as absurd; although it is foreign from the common feeling of Catholics at this time."

trovertible truths of geology, which aim at proving the earth to have been fashioned by mechanical processes still going on.'"

REBUKES OF SCIENTISTIC ANTI-BIBLICISM.

In somewhat of timid circumlocution the Review acknowledges that the real motive for a vast amount of this pretended zeal for science is anti-biblical. "We fear that the unrivaled popularity that has hailed the appearance of certain works which have propounded new theories, or carried old theories to new results, with reference to the organized species of the natural kingdoms, has not been due, in the main, to a genuine interest in natural science. It is idle to disguise the fact that the contest in its present phase, although it may be unfair to say that it is carried on under false colors, is one which concerns the safety of positions of a very different importance from the outposts around which the skirmish as yet rages." We wish the writer had said this in a franker style. He might have said that of the rampant "enthusiasm" of pre-Adamite scientists there is one part love for science to three parts eager infidelity. This is by no means predicable of all who have been put to pause by the fallacious assumptions and false "facts" of the paleontologists. That calm pause, that waiting for fuller and decisive development of facts, was scientifically and morally right. But there has been a large amount of scientistic unscrupulousness. False assumptions and modes of reasoning have been elaborately adopted, and facts have been manipulated in behalf of pre-Adamitism with a very suspicious carelessness. An intolerant scientific popery has issued its roaring bulls, requiring every scientific man to accept certain conclusions under penalty of losing caste, and scouting every non-professional doubter as an enemy of science. The result has been, we fear, in not a few cases, that professedly Christian thinkers and scientists have been "bull-dozed" not only into submission, but even into an adoption of the "enthusiasm" and arrogance of their "bull-dozers."

REBUKE OF ATHEISMS MIXED WITH SCIENCE.

Our Review, however, does utter some trenchant rebukes even against such men as Darwin and Huxley for their corrupt mixing of an atheistic philosophy, which is purely subjective, with actual science reposing on objective facts. In the

following passage the italics are our own: "The weapons of skepticism are used in our times with great effect to assail and shake some of the fundamental principles of morality and religion. We must say that we feel at least an equal amount of skepticism in relation to many of the dogmas of modern science. They are, many of them, as we have said, mere hypotheses; there is an admitted failure of evidence to raise them to the rank of demonstrated truths; but *they are promulgated and proclaimed with an arrogance and intolerance worthy of the infallible priesthood of an absolute creed. There is, in truth, more reason in these days to complain of the intolerance of science than of the intolerance of religion.* Few names in science are more illustrious than that of Dr. Virchow, but the services he has rendered to his art are, in our judgment, surpassed by the service he has rendered to truth in the vigorous protest delivered by him at Munich last autumn against 'the tyranny of dogmatism which undertakes to master the whole view of nature by the premature generalizing of theoretical combinations.' A very large proportion of these daring hypotheses are literally unsupported by facts, and even opposed to facts; and we cannot sufficiently applaud the manly and independent spirit in which Dr. Virchow rejects the attempt to inculcate these unsettled opinions as fundamental truths. His discourse well deserves the honor of translation, and we hope it will be generally read."

The following rebukes administered to the Darwinian and Huxleyan atheism interpolated into science we quote in full:—

> Thus we find one writer, distinguished for an erudition in natural history of a high order, bringing forward all his learning, and taxing all his reasoning powers, to support the assertion that "the most distinct genera and orders within the same great class—for instance, whales, mice, birds, and fishes—are all the descendants of one common progenitor, and we must admit that the whole vast amount of difference between these forms of life has primarily arisen from simple variability." The truth which underlies this ridiculous over-statement is, that a certain general type, platform, or design may be recognized as underlying the vertebrated form of life, and as developed with wonderful diversity, so as to suit different conditions of abode, of food, and even of medium of life. The idea of the "common progenitor" is not only purely gratuitous, but is one so opposed to all the phenomena of the distribution of animal life, and, indeed, so far transcending the limits which physical science imposes on the conceivable duration of life on our planet, that it is difficult to imagine why a writer should

have weighted his argument with so unnecessary an approach to a mathematical absurdity. In such a sentence as we have quoted the term "variability" ceases to have any scientific meaning. As to the object with which it was introduced, however, we are not left in doubt. "No shadow of reason," Mr. Darwin continues, "can be assigned for the belief, alike in nature, and the result of the same general laws which have been the groundwork, through natural selection, of the formation of the most perfectly adapted animals in the world, man included, were intentionally and specially guided." We think that it is tolerably evident that the interest excited by the desire to justify or to condemn such an utterance as the above has little claim to the title of scientific interest.

It is plain that two entirely distinct issues are raised in the words which we have quoted from one of the later works of Mr. Darwin, in language which has, at all events, the rare merit of being both intelligible and precise. The first (and, as we have said, gratuitously conditioned) demand on our assent is the thesis that all forms of animal life, as far at least as the *Vertebrata* are concerned, have been derived, by the ordinary process of descent, from a common ancestor. The second, and no less gratuitous, proposition is, that during the long descent, through a series of transformations which could only have been possible in consequence of the primary provision of adaptability, no direct, creative, providential, or divine design has been kept in view; that no controlling wisdom has directed, or rendered possible, the course of development; but that man has been evolved out of a fish, a sponge, or a speck of jelly, by the preservation, during the battle for life, of varieties which possess any advantage in structure, constitution, or instinct. It is important, as giving the fullest exposition of this view, to cite the words of Mr. Huxley: "A nucleated mass of protoplasm turns out to be what may be termed the structural unit of the human body. As a matter of fact, the body, in its earliest state, is a mere multiple of such units; and in its perfect condition it is a multiple of such units variously modified." "All vital action may, with equal propriety, be said to be the result of the molecular forces of the protoplasm which displays it. What justification is there, then, for the assumption of the existence in the living matter of a something which has no representative or correlative in the not living matter which gives rise to it?"

When we find writers thus laboriously go out of their way, content to part company with the sobriety of reason, so that they may administer a slap in the face to what they may regard as an inconvenient superstition, are we not fully justified in the statement that the popularity their works have attained is mainly due to something very different from the desire of the mass of their readers to be enlightened in the truths of physical science? Nothing is more contrary to true scientific method than the confusion of theory and of facts, or the transplanting to one order of inves-

tigation of details appertaining to a totally different field of research. Thus it may be possible to state in terms, or, perhaps, even in some queer sense to hold, the low and semi-brutal theory that no proofs of wise purpose and design are to be drawn from that perfect adaptation of type to conditions of existence which forms the general law of organic nature. But we might expect that a student afflicted with so unfortunate a form of intellectual color-blindness would be careful, by a judicious silence, not to draw attention to his damaging deficiency. When, on the contrary, we find him volunteer a statement so wide of the mark as to say that not "a shadow of reason can be assigned" for a more symmetric and more complete view of nature, we feel at once that we can accept no statement at his hands without control or verification. Again: we might expect that a man sufficiently familiar with the rudiments of chemistry to be able to describe in terms of scientific notation the chemical elements of protoplasm, would be one of the first to be aware that there was a something in living matter which is not to be found in the carbon, and oxygen, and hydrogen, and nitrogen, of which he tells us that such matter consists. It is a something which he cannot by any means detect in non-living matter. He is unable to put it into any similar mixture, with whatever accuracy he may compound it. It is precisely the presence of "a something which has no representative or correlative in the not living matter" which composes the contents of an egg, that makes the difference between an addled and a good egg—a difference which, on the argument of Mr. Huxley, would be altogether imaginary, or, at all events, entirely unaccountable.—Pp. 185–187.

The following is an important passage:—

ASTRONOMY CONTRADICTS DARWINISM.

The author of "Skepticism in Geology" has not referred to the most powerful arguments yet adduced against what is called the uniformitarian theory. Geology, whatever be its actual advance, is but one branch of natural science. Not only must any sound geological theory, therefore, be in accordance with the ascertained truths of natural philosophy, but it must be controlled by those more general and more certain data which are to be obtained by the physicist and by the physical astronomer. The address delivered to the Geological Society of Glasgow, (Feb. 27, 1868,) by Sir W. Thomson, "On Geological Time," has laid down certain lines and limits which no reasonable speculator can attempt to overstep. By reasoning as lucid as that of the *Principia* itself, Sir William has demonstrated the fact that a secular retardation of the rotation of the earth is caused by the tides. A second and independent proof that geological time is limited, deduced from the laws of heat, is to be found in the paper "On Geological Dynamics," by the same author, read to the same audience on February 19, 1869. In this Professor Huxley's address

to the Geological Society of London, (Feb. 19, 1869,) is submitted to a damaging ,or, rather, totally destructive, criticism. From these masterly papers it is clearly evident that the enormous demands on time made by the uniformitarian geologists, so far from being based on any observed phenomena, are irreconcilable with an intelligent consideration of physical law. Almost every thing, in fact, points to the conclusion *that the erosive, transporting, and upheaving actions of nature were formerly far more active than is now the case.* One thing alone stands on the opposite side of the question. The contrast is thus stated by Sir W. Thomson: "The limitation of geological periods, imposed by physical science, cannot, of course, disprove the hypothesis of transmutation of species; but it does seem sufficient to disprove the doctrine that transmutation has taken place through 'descent with modification by natural selection.'" The only necessity for the assumption that "a far longer period than 300,000,000 years has elapsed since the latter part of the secondary period" is to give time for the operation of that law which has been invented by Mr. Darwin, and which is thus proved to be inconsistent with well-known and established principles of natural science.—Pp. 196.

This unequivocal reaffirmation of Thomson's positions is pregnant with decisive results: 1. Darwin and his followers are obliged to demand immense periods of time, and to give us prolix lectures on "the imperfection of the geological record." But, alas! astronomy limits their time, cramps their action, and squeezes the whole theory to death. 2. It demonstrates that *we are now in a comparatively repose period;* that geological convulsions and "catastrophes" have been far more violent and gigantic than now. This seriously affects the doctrine of pre-Adamitism. Those changes which have happened since Adam appeared are, many of them, the result of violent action, not of protracted time. Pre-Adamitism is largely based upon uniformitarianism carried to fanaticism.

In closing our notice of this valuable article we should say that the writer still holds to the pre-Adamite man. His reason for this opinion (given in an extract from "Haughton's Geology") is, "that man lived in this country and throughout Western Europe with the lion and hairy elephant, the hyena and woolly rhinoceros. . . . In his weapons of warfare and of the chase he resembled the dwellers on the shores of arctic seas; and, judging from the associated animals, he probably lived in an age when continental conditions and higher mountains produced much greater extremes of climate than are

found in the same countries now." For the value of such reasons we recommend our readers to consult Mr. Southall's "Epoch of the Mammoth," noticed upon another page of this number of our Quarterly. In our own opinion the reviewer has made admissions enough to overthrow his assigned reason very abundantly.

The article on the "Age of Bronze" is marked by the same abandonment of peremptory positions. The writer still holds to a "paleolithic" or old-stone period, when men used very rude flint instruments, and to a "neolithic" or new-stone period, when men used implements of a more polished character; and that these two periods were each ages long, and with long ages intervening between the two.

THE PALEOLITHIC AGE.

The paleolithic age, when man was living along with the extinct animals in Europe, is separated from the second period in the history of mankind, or that of polished stone, by an interval which can only be measured by geographical change and the disappearance of some and the extinction of other animals. It was sufficiently great to allow of Great Britain becoming separated from the Continent by the submergence of the great plains connecting it with Denmark, Belgium, Holland, and France, and to allow of the mammoth, cave-bear, woolly rhinoceros, and other creatures, to become extinct. In it the paleolithic hunter disappeared without any sign of overlap with his neolithic successors. This may possibly be due to the same kind of antagonism between them as that existing now between the Eskimos and Red Indians, which keeps them completely isolated from each other. But, whether this explanation be true or not, there is no transition observable between the paleolithic and neolithic implements and art, just as there is no relation between the wild animals which supplied the former with food, and the domestic animals of his successor the herdsman.—P. 228.

The *time sufficient to separate Britain from the Continent* makes a highly sonorous impression! But, 1. So paleolithic an author as Professor Geikie is quoted by Southall as saying: "An elevation of from twenty to thirty fathoms would drain nearly all the German Ocean between England and the Continent, and twenty fathoms more would lay dry the same sea between Scotland and Denmark." How long does a subsidence of one hundred and fifty feet require? Perhaps a few days or even hours. Professor Winchell furnishes us in

his pamphlet, noticed on another page, with a far greater geologic revolution than this, wrought since the days of Abraham. The continent of Atlantis was sunk beneath the ocean's surface subsequently to 1582 B. C. Whether sunk by sudden convulsions or slow immersion, Atlantis left behind it, as its sole remnants, the Canary Islands and the now extinct race of Guanches. Yet our uniformitarian brethren still prattle about the impossibility of stupendous geological changes during the Adamic period! 2. The reviewer himself suggests that the paleolithic and neolithic races might, nevertheless, be contemporaneous, yet separate, like the present Eskimo and Red Indians. Of course they might, and therefore the assumption that they were ages apart is a gratuity. There are plenty of instances in which stone-using races are contemporaneous and friendly with metal-using races, without themselves using metals. The same race, even, uses worse and better stone implements. In fact, the great mass of implements in the so-called neolithic finds are of paleolithic rudeness. The genius of Nast ought to picture for us a modern paleolithist sorting out from a pile of stone implements the smoothest and most finished specimens, labeling them neolithic, and libeling the unfortunate remainder as paleolithic. 3. The closing paragraph of the reviewer pretty much concedes the whole question. He says:—

> Our readers will see further from this review that the division into ages of polished stone, bronze, and iron, is merely relative, and *does not imply periods, using the term in the historical sense*. In the transalpine region the pre-historic times extended far down into the historic period of Greece and Rome. We would advise the archæologists as well as the historians to concentrate their attention on this overlap.—P. 245.

That states the truth precisely. The implements, whether stone, bronze, or iron, are a proximate test of civilization, but a very imperfect measure of time.

The reviewer's survey of the primeval inhabitants of Europe is worth noticing. The paleolithic race he identifies with the Eskimos. And Mr. Southall would add, linguistics have identified the Eskimos with the old Acadians, the earliest race that inhabited the Babylonian tetrapolis:—

> The route by which they retreated from Europe is indicated by the remains of that animal, which lie scattered in the fossil state

through Germany and Russia to the frozen cliffs of Behring's Straits and the present land of the Eskimos. As archæological inquiry goes on in Northern Siberia we feel certain that implements and weapons will be met with similar to those of the caves of Middle and Northern Europe.—P. 228.

The neolithic race he identifies as the old Iberian:—

The researches of Professor Huxley and Dr. Thurman in this country, and Professor Busk in Spain and Gibraltar, prove that the neolithic Britons are identical with that small, dark-haired, long-headed, elegant section of the Basque-speaking peoples which are now found in the south of France and the north of Spain. The human skeletons of the neolithic tombs of the whole of Britain and Ireland, treated in the same way as a naturalist would treat any other group of remains, indicate unmistakably that there was a population possessed of all the physical characters of the small, dark Iberi now represented by the inhabitants of Guipuscoa and the surrounding districts. The same type has been met with in sepulchral caves in Belgium and in certain districts of France, and as far south in Spain as the Sierra Nevada. It has been met with also in the caves of Gibraltar. Thus there is evidence that in the neolithic age a population indistinguishable from the Iberian extended over the region north of the Mediterranean to the ocean, and to the east as far as the Rhine.—P. 233.

The entire survey confirms the bibical statements that the populations streamed toward western Europe from western Asia. The east is the cradle of the race. First came the Eskimo, driven westward by the Iberian; the Iberian, by the Celt, and the Celts now hold the western margin as Frenchmen, Welshmen, and Irishmen. For the Celt was driven westward by the Teuton or German, who now holds central Europe. And at this day the German is pressed upon by the Sclavonian, for Russia is now the eastern menace of western Europe.

NO LATE PROGRESS MADE TOWARD PRE-ADAMITISM.

We have the following discouraging statement of the somewhat dilapidated state of the geologic man:—

The debate at the Anthropological Institute in May last leaves the question of the antiquity of man now just where it was twenty years ago. The attempt made by the glacialists to push back man into an interglacial period has signally failed. The asserted discovery of man in association with the extinct animals in the Victoria Cave in Yorkshire turns out to be founded on a mistake, and the interglacial age of the flint implements at Brandon is dis-

puted by high authorities, among which may be numbered the Professors of Geology at Oxford and Cambridge. Nor do we get any light thrown upon this question on the Continent. The four little sticks found in the interglacial lignite of Dürnten, and considered by Professors Rütimeyer and Schwendauer to be fragments of a fossil basket, are, in our opinion, after a careful examination, devoid of all trace of man's handiwork. We believe them to be pineknots out of a rotten trunk, similar in every respect to those which may be seen in any rotten fir-tree in which the decay has gone on sufficiently to allow of their falling out. The reputed discovery of man in pleiocene deposits in Tuscany is equally unsatisfactory, since it is not certain that the cut bones, on which it is founded, were discovered in undisturbed strata. It seems to us that great caution should be used at the present time in accepting any evidence as to the antiquity of man, which many are so eager to push as far back as possible. Unless we have the most ample confirmation of the presence of man in remote geological periods, it is merely an act of common prudence to carry all asserted discoveries to a suspense account.—P. 227.

We call particular attention to the failure of a number of enthusiastic hunts after "the pre-glacial man." Southall furnishes a fuller notice; but Dawson's work, noticed in our last Quarterly, enumerates and repudiates all the specimens of the "pre-glacial." Pre-adamitism, however, in order to keep its courage up, mixes up a little prophecy with science. The long-lost LEMURIA is the paradise of its hope. That other sunken continent, on the east of Africa, of which Madagascar is the remaining memento, will yet turn up the spectacle of lemurs budding into apes, and apes blossoming into men, through which the sighing scientist will yet be able to trace his own pedigree back to the tadpole and the squirt. Said scientist is truly "Japhet in search of his father."

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, April, 1878. (New York.)—1. The Literature of the Servians and Croats. 2. Popular Buddhism according to the Chinese Canon. 3. An Indian District: Its People and Administration. 4. Peasant Life in France and Russia. 5. Our Present Convict System. 6. Life of the Prince Consort. 7. Russian Aggression and the Duty of Europe.

No ethnic religion can compare in interest to the student and thinker with BUDDHISM. Of the thousand millions of men nearly one half are its devotees. Its founder is, perhaps, the most wonderful man of mere men. Its morals are ascetically pure. The following, from Article II, shows the most authentic source of our knowledge as to Chinese Buddhism:—

THE LONDON LIBRARY OF BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES.

In the year 1875 there was delivered, at the Library of the India Office in London, a collection of books in seven large boxes, carefully packed in lead, with padding of dry rushes and grass. The books are the Buddhist Tripitaka in Chinese characters, with Japanese notations, issued in Japan, with an Imperial Preface, in the years 1681–1683 A. D. The entire series of two thousand volumes is contained in one hundred and three cases or covers. When placed in the library, they required eleven shelves of ten feet in length. This was the magnificent gift of the Japanese Government to England, made on the suggestion of the embassador who had recently visited Europe. He had doubtless been struck by the anomaly between the intense desire of the English to convert the heathen, and their profound ignorance of all religions except their own, and especially of the one which most closely resembles it, the state religion of his own country, Buddhism. Mr. Beal and Dr. Rost requested him to solicit the gift. No more appropriate gift could have been sent; and the Secretary of State directed the Rev. Samuel Beal, Professor of Chinese in the University of London, to prepare a "compendious report of the Buddhist Tripitaka." The result of his labors is the catalogue *raisonné* now before us. Professor Beal is well known as one of the first Buddhist scholars in Europe, and he had already reported upon the Chinese books in the Library of the India Office.

The importance of the Chinese copy of the Buddhist canonical scriptures lies in the fact that it was commenced in the first century A. D. The translation was made from the Sanskrit, or from some Indian vernacular, by early Buddhist missionaries from India to China.

Like Socrates and other great religious teachers, Buddha taught only by word of mouth. Immediately after his death his disciples assembled in conclave to recall and commit to memory the words of the master. These "words" were, like the Vedas, handed down from disciple to disciple, until they were finally committed to writing. They were divided into three parts, or *baskets*, Tripitika: (1.) Doctrinal and practical discourses; (2.) Ecclesiastical discipline for the religious orders; (3.) Metaphysics and philosophy. So long as the words of Buddha were handed down by oral tradition there was danger of heresies and false teaching; therefore, about the year 246 B. C., King Asoka, who stood to Buddhism in a relation similar to that of the Emperor Constantine to Christianity, summoned a council to fix the canon. This council was to India what the Council of Nice became to Europe. The assembled fathers, who numbered a thousand, received the excellent advice from the king, that they should seek only for the words of the master himself; for "that which is spoken by the blessed Buddha, and that alone, is well spoken." The canon drawn up by this council is the one accepted by the Southern Buddhists of Ceylon, Siam, and Burmah. None of the Pitikas

can be traced back with certainty to an earlier date, although they contain matter which is much older. The Northern canon, which is somewhat larger than the Southern, was fixed at a council held in Kashmeer about the commencement of the Christian era. The Chinese is translated from this Northern canon; and many of the monasteries in China contain complete copies of the scriptures in the vernacular, and also of the Sanskrit originals from which the Chinese version was made. Great impetus to the work of translation was given by the influx of Buddhist missionaries on the conversion of the Chinese monarch in the middle of the first century of our era. Thus, at the very time when Christianity was being carried westward into Europe by St. Paul and his companions, Buddhism was being carried eastward into China by missionaries no less courageous and zealous for the faith which they believed.

As Buddha did not claim any revelation, so the canon stands alone among the sacred scriptures of the world in not assuming any special inspiration for its contents: "For the attainment of those previously unknown doctrines, the eye, the knowledge, the wisdom, and the light, were developed within me."—Pp. 156, 157.

THE PERSONALITY OF BUDDHA.

In the fifth century B. C. there arose in the civilized world the remarkable intellectual movement of which Pythagoras is the representative in Europe, Zoroaster in Persia, Buddha in India, Confucius in China. Buddha is more fortunate than the others in having bequeathed to the world not only words of wisdom, as did they, but also the example of a life in which the loftiest morality was softened and beautified by unbounded charity and devotion to the good of his fellow-men. His walk through life was along "the path whose entrance is purity, whose goal is love." The personality of the Buddha is still a living power in the world, and by its exquisite purity it attracts the heart and affection of more than one third of the human race.

Buddha is not, strictly speaking, the name of a man. The word means "The Enlightened," and is the title applied to a succession of men whose wisdom has enlightened mankind. It has, however, become identified with the founder of Buddhism, Gautama. Buddhists think it irreverent to say the word "Gautama," so they speak of him as the Buddha, Sakya-muni, "the sage of the Sakyas," "the lion of the tribe of Sakya," "the king of righteousness," "the blessed one." Gautama, then, is *the* Buddha, and his followers have been called Buddhists from the characteristic feature of the founder's office—he who enlightens mankind. Gautama claimed to be nothing more than a link in the chain of Buddhas who had preceded and who should follow him. This modest claim is characteristic of great reformers: "I only hand on, I cannot create new things; I believe in the ancients." Mohammed claimed to return to the creed of Abraham, "the Friend." Nevertheless, the glory of a religion belongs to the

founder, not to his predecessors nor his successors. He it is who makes all things new; and, therefore, it is to the life and teaching of Gautama that we must look for the mainspring of the religion. Buddha is one of the few founders of religion who did not claim a special revelation or inspiration. "I have heard these truths from no one," he said; "they are all self-revealed—they spring only from within myself." And he believed them to be true for all time: "The heavens may fall to earth, the earth become dust, the mountains may be removed, but my word cannot fail or be false."

Buddha commenced his preaching at the city of Benares, on the banks of the Ganges, where Brahminism was the religion of the mass of the people. He was a reformer. His reformation bears to Brahminism the relation which Protestantism bears to Roman Catholicism, rather than that which Christianity does to Judaism, though it may be doubted whether a schism actually took place during Buddha's life-time. It was primarily a protest against the sacrificial and sacerdotal system of the Brahmans. It rejected all bloody sacrifice, together with the priesthood and social caste so essentially bound up with them. The logical consequence of animal sacrifice he admirably showed in the words: "If a man, in worshiping the gods, sacrifices a sheep, and so does well, why should he not kill his child, his relations, or his dearest friend, in worshiping the gods, and so do better?" But, while Buddhism was opposed to sacerdotalism, it was in close alliance with the teaching of the philosophers, for all its main positions may be traced to their origin in the teaching of the philosophical schools of India. Buddha states and accepts the high aim of these schools: "All the different systems of philosophy are designed to one end—to overthrow the strongholds of sin." He endeavored to popularize this end of the philosophy of the day, and to bring it within the comprehension of the poorest and most outcast of the people. Indeed, one secret of his success lay in the fact that he preached to the poor as well as to the rich, and that the common people heard him gladly.

The personal influence of Buddha while he lived, the enthusiasm for humanity with which he inspired his followers, the attractive beauty of character which he bequeathed as "a rich legacy" to mankind, place him as the central figure of his religion. The result has been that he has been idealized until he is regarded as divine and omniscient and free from all sin. "There is no deity above him; he stands out alone, unrivaled, unequaled, and unapproachable." Prayers are addressed to him, flowers and incense offered, and his relics are enshrined in stupas. Nevertheless, Gautama stands but as one in a long chain of Buddhas who have preceded him, and who will follow. His teaching was higher and nobler than the teaching of those who came before him. The teaching of the Buddhas who will in the course of ages follow will be greater and more divine than was his. Therefore he bade men look forward to and hail their advent. The next Buddha

will be Maitreya, the Buddha of charity. It is difficult to fix the exact date of Buddha's death. It may have been as early as 477, or as late as 412 B. C.—Pp. 157, 168.

The following paragraph shows almost amusingly the

CHRISTIAN ESTIMATES OF BUDDHA.

Christians of all shades of opinion have spoken with reverence of Buddha. The Venetian Marco Polo said, "Indeed, had he been a Christian, he would have been a great saint of our Lord Jesus Christ, so good and pure was the life he led;" and he tells us how pilgrims came to Adam's Peak in Ceylon, "from very long distances, with great devotion, just as Christians go to the shrine of Messer Saint James in Gallicia." M. St. Hilaire says, "Je n'hésite pas à ajouter que, sauf le Christ tout seul, il n'est point, parmi les fondateurs de religion, de figure plus pure ni plus touchante que celle de Bouddha. Sa vie n'a point de tache. Son constant héroïsme égale sa conviction; et si la théorie qu'il préconise est fausse, les exemples personnels qu'il donne sont irréprochable. Il est le modèle achevé de toutes les vertus qu'il prêcha." An Anglican clergyman, Mr. Baring-Gould, bears witness that "the ethic code of Buddha can hardly be ranked lower than that of Christianity; and it is immeasurably superior to every heathen system that the world has ever seen." But most remarkable of all is the fact that Buddha is a canonized saint of the Christian Church. St. John of Damascus, in the eighth century, wrote a religious romance, of which the narrative is taken from the "Lalita Vistara," the story of Buddha's life. It became very popular in the Middle Ages, and the hero was canonized. He has his festal days in the Roman communion on 27th November, in the Eastern on 26th August, under the name of Josaphat, a corruption of Bodhisattva.

In all times and in all places men have lived pure and holy lives, and have shown themselves Christians, even "before Christ came in the flesh." Buddha, whose teaching approaches nearer than does that of any other founder of a religion to the teaching of Christ, has won, by the attractive beauty of his character, the unconscious homage of Christendom. He has been placed in the golden roll of Christian saints, side by side with St. Francis d'Asissi and other founders of religious orders, with St. Francis Xavier and other missionary heroes, and with Francis de Sales and other saintly men.—Pp. 168, 169.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1878. (London.)—1. The First Ten Years of the Canadian Dominion. 2. Mycenæ. 3. Victor Hugo. 4. A Woman's Reply to Frederick Harrison. 5. The North-west Frontier of India. 6. Constantinople. 7. The Proposed New University in Manchester. 8. The Duke of Argyll and Disestablishment in Scotland. 9. The Russian and Turkish War. 10. Phases of the Eastern Question.

In the literary department we find the following fine notice of CHARLES SUMNER:—

This installment of the life of a very remarkable man deserves to be widely welcomed. Although it was the lot of Sumner—as it is of all men of his aggressive stamp—to excite hostility in certain quarters, there can be no question either of his personal talents or his political prescience. The key-note of his character was struck when, in his Bowdoin prize essay of 1833, he quoted from Milton this passage: "For surely to every good and peaceable citizen it must in nature needs be a hateful thing to be a displeaser and molester of thousands. But when God commands to take the trumpet, and blow a dolorous or a jarring blast, it lies not in man's will what he shall say or what he shall conceal." Sumner was a man of strong convictions, and of an equally strong will in making these convictions known. He had great ambition, and was born to wield power of some kind or other. Intellectual force discovered the final outlet for his irrepressible volitions. He early became conversant with the greatest English writers. After graduating at Harvard College, he entered the Law School at Cambridge, where he speedily attracted the attention of the Judge, then Professor, Story. Writing to an old college school-fellow, after his choice of a profession, Sumner said, "If I am a lawyer, I wish to be one who can dwell upon the vast heaps of law matter as the temple in which the majesty of right has taken its abode; who will aim beyond the mere letter, at the spirit, the broad spirit of the law; and who will bring to his aid a liberal and cultivated mind. Is not this an honest ambition? If not, reprove me for it. A lawyer is one of the best or the worst of men, according as he shapes his course. He may breed strife, and he may settle dissensions of years." In the year 1838 Mr. Sumner, then a young and distinguished barrister, made a tour through Europe. He obtained an *entrée* into the best circles of English society, and became the personal friend of many of the greatest men of the time. That which it was not possible to achieve by an unknown native of this country was immediately conceded to Mr. Sumner, as it was about the same time also to Mr. Ticknor, another American who became the associate of many of our literary and political celebrities. This has always been matter of astonishment; and Mr. Hayward and others have testified that although Sumner's powers of conversation were not great, and it was difficult to name the qualities which would account for his success, his popularity was yet manifest and undoubted. Although not famous as a legal advocate, Mr. Sumner obtained considerable distinction as a writer for "The Jurist" and "The North American Review," and also as a lecturer before the Cambridge Law School, in the absence of the legitimate professors. When he returned to the States, however, in 1840, after his tour in Europe, he resumed his professional practice in Boston, and devoted his leisure hours to literary pursuits. In 1842 he began to let it be known that he had very pronounced views upon slavery, a subject to which he had given much thought for many years, as his father had before him. As witnessed in the case of numberless other great reforms and revo-

lutions, the ideas of Sumner and his associates upon the question of slavery were at first tolerated, then ridiculed, and at length feared. Whatever else might be said of Sumner, he was, at least, always in earnest, and terribly so on this subject of slavery, as his opponents at last discovered. On Independence Day, 1845, this prominent American statesman may be said to have inaugurated his political career. He delivered an oration at Boston upon "The True Grandeur of Nations," in which he uttered the words: "In our age there can be no peace that is not honorable; there can be no war that is not dishonorable." The oration, from its freedom and force of language, acted like a bomb-shell upon some portions of the assembly, and great dissatisfaction on account of it was afterward expressed with Sumner. Notwithstanding this, however, as all through his career, he was determined not to mince matters, but to hold forth and enforce the plain unvarnished truth. He took his stand with the reformers, who were as warm in their friendship as his foes became envenomed in their hostility. The remainder of his political career, and that by far the most important section of it, still remains to be dealt with. Readers will find Mr. Sumner's reminiscences of English society very entertaining. He was every-where received with favor, and voluntarily elected into the best clubs. He was present in the House of Lords when her Majesty delivered her first speech in Parliament, and thus wrote to a friend after that memorable event: "You well know I had no disposition to admire the Queen, or any thing that proceeds from her; but her reading has conquered my judgment. I was astonished and delighted. Her voice was sweet, and finely modulated, and she pronounced every word finely and distinctly, with a just regard to its meaning. I think I have never heard any thing better read in my life than her speech, and I could but respond to Lord Fitzwilliam's remark to me when the ceremony was over, "How beautifully she performs!" Hearing Carlyle lecture in the year 1838, Sumner wrote: "I heard Carlyle lecture the other day; he seemed like an inspired boy; truths and thoughts that made one move on the benches came from his apparently unconscious mind, couched in the most grotesque style, and yet condensed to a degree of intensity, if I may so write." Of Lord Lyndhurst, whom he heard in a debate in the House of Lords in the same year, 1838, he observes: "All my prejudices are against him; he is unprincipled as a politician and as a man; and his legal reputation has sunk very much by the reversal of his judgment in the case of Small *vs.* Attwood, in which it is said Brougham exerted himself with superhuman energy. Notwithstanding all this, Lyndhurst charmed me like a siren. His manner is simple, clear, and direct, enchaining the attention of all: we have nobody like him." Mr. Sumner's judgments upon Englishmen will not always be indorsed by readers in this country; but there is unquestionably much freshness in the manner in which they are expressed, and also in the anecdotes scattered about these volumes. The youthful judgments and de-

cisions of men, even upon their own affairs, are frequently totally reversed by themselves in after life. This was the case with Sumner. Being in Washington during the first session of the twenty-third Congress, he thus wrote to his father, after listening to the debates: "Calhoun has given notice to-day that he will speak to-morrow on Mr. Webster's Bank Bill. I shall probably hear him, and he will be the last man I shall ever hear speak in Washington. I probably shall never come here again. I have little or no desire to come again in any capacity. Nothing that I have seen of politics has made me look upon them with any feeling other than loathing. The more I see of them the more I love law, which I feel will give me an honorable livelihood." Yet the writer lived to be one of the greatest ornaments of that world of politics which so strangely affected him in earlier years. There is something in Sumner's character which approaches much in Mr. Gladstone's. Both are distinguished for an unswerving honesty of purpose, and a deep and lasting hatred of injustice and oppression. Mr. Pierce's volumes have been already widely welcomed, and the welcome is no more than they deserved. We shall await the completion of the task here commenced with great interest. That which remains to be done, however, is much more difficult than that which has already been accomplished.—Pp. 549–552.

German Reviews.

Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) Edited by Dr. Hilgenfeld. Second Number. 1878.—1. Pünyer, The Speeches of Jesus in Regard to his Second Advent. 2. Holtzmann, The Development of the Idea of Religion in the School of Hegel. 3 Hilgenfeld, The Basilides of Hippolytus. 4. Egli, On Genesis vi. 1–4. 5. Görres, Critical Researches on the Apocalyptic Martyr Antipas of Pergamos.

Third Number.—1. Hilgenfeld, Hegesippus and the Acts of the Apostles. 2. Gebhardt, The Ascensio Isaiae. 3. Holtzmann, The Development of the Idea of Religion in the School of Hegel, (Second Article.)

Every one who has any acquaintance with the history of German theology knows what lasting influence has been exerted upon its development in the nineteenth century by the philosophical system of Hegel. With other distinguished philosophers, Hegel shared the peculiarity that his profound philosophical theories were understood by only a few. Immediately after the death of the master a quarrel arose, therefore, among his followers: some, the so-called right wing, believing in the possibility of demonstrating the complete harmony between the new philosophy of the absolute and orthodox Christianity; while the other, or left wing—also called the Young Hegelians

—assumed a very hostile attitude, not only toward historical Christianity, but even toward the idea of religion. For among those who proceeded from the Young Hegelians were D. F. Strauss, the author of the "Life of Jesus," in which the biblical account of the life of Jesus was declared to be a myth, and L. Feuerbach, who rejected religion itself as a dream, and an illusion from which, when man awakes, he finds only himself. The article of Professor Holtzmann traces the history of Hegelianism in German theology in sketching the views of its principal representatives, from Philip Marheinicke, whom the right wing of the Hegelians proclaimed after the death of Hegel as his legitimate successor, down to Biedermann, who is characterized as one of the foremost Hegelian theologians of the present age. Among the men whose share in the development of Hegelian theology is treated of at length, are Marheinecke, Vatke, Arnold Ruge, Julius Froebel, Ludwig Noack, J. F. Reiff, Eduard Zeller, D. F. Stranss, C. G. Reuschle, H. Lang, A. E. Biedermann, and others. In the theological faculties of Germany the Hegelian school is to-day but feebly represented, and the son of Hegel himself is one of the most zealous chiefs of the orthodox evangelical party in the Prussian State Church.

French Reviews.

Revue Chretienne, (Christian Review.) March, 1878.—1. Bersier, The Testimony of the Apostles. 2. E. W., Alfred de Musset. 3. Massebieau, Justin Martyr, his Life and his Doctrines. 4. Nyegaard, St. Paul's Thorn in the Flesh.

April, 1878.—1. Boegner, The Theology of the Old Testament. 2. Carlos Emilio Castelar. 3. De Richemond, Margaret of Orleans, Sister of Francis I., Queen of Navarre, Henry d'Albert, King of Navarre, and their Chaplain, Gerard Roussel, at La Rochelle. 4. De Richemond, Madame de la Fite, Reader to Queen Charlotte, and Governess of the Princess of England, 1737–1797.

Emilio Castelar is well known throughout the civilized world as one of the representative men of the Latin race. The newspapers of all countries have reproduced many of the great speeches made by him in the Spanish Cortes, and his brilliant, though brief and unsuccessful, career as President of the Spanish Republic, has secured him forever a front place among the promoters of free republican institutions in modern

Europe. A revised and enlarged edition of his work on "The Religious Art and Nature in Italy," which has recently appeared, has called forth this article by Cadène, which chiefly treats of the religious views of Castelar. Like all the republican leaders in the Latin countries of Europe, Castelar has shown himself a determined opponent of Ultramontanism and the Papacy. On the other hand, he shares by no means the sovereign contempt which so many political Liberals of Europe show for religion in general. On the contrary, he readily recognizes the legitimacy, the power, the frequently decisive influence, which religion has exerted upon the destinies of nations. He regards a religious faith as absolutely necessary; and in a powerful discourse which he made two years ago in Paris he emphatically asserted that the Latin race must assume another religion than Roman Catholicism or perish. What appears to him especially repugnant in Romanism is its political element, which he regards as the revival under another name of the despotic genius of ancient Rome. He is willing to accept a Church evangelically organized, without an earthly crown, without a human ambition, the friend of the nations, the patron of their rights, the consolation and hope of the oppressed—a Church as pictured by Gioberti. He abhors the Jesuits, but extols beyond measure the Franciscans of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries for having said, "Blessed be the poor." His own views on Christianity are somewhat indefinite. He seems to place great men like Galileo, Columbus, Guttenberg, Socrates, and Moses, on a level with Christ as redeemers of mankind. Still, he is an earnest opponent of materialism and fatalism. He believes in God and his providence, in the immortality of the soul and man's responsibility, all of which are for him fundamental and immovable principles of religious belief.

In its summary of current events the *Revue* calls attention to a new movement in favor of Protestantism. France has a number of politicians and literary men who, like Emilio Castelar, have arrived at the conviction that a longer connection with Ultramontanism would ruin the Latin race, but that Ultramontanism can only be supplanted by another religion. The editors of the *Revue Philosophique*, Bouchard and Renouvier, announce that they will henceforth publish a quarterly

supplement to their journal, entitled *La Critique Religieuse*, which will be specially devoted to the elaboration of the idea that France needs another religion than Roman Catholicism, and that it can find this religion only in Protestantism. "Nothing remains," says the prospectus of this supplement, "but Christianity, under the form both ancient and new, both traditional and free, of the Reformed Churches, which can again become what violence alone prevented them from being in the sixteenth century, and achieve the peaceable conquest of Europe. If we wish it, Protestantism can at once grow strong with us by the adhesion of the heads of families who, finding no longer the satisfaction of religious sentiments in the Church of the Syllabus, and, moreover, finding themselves bound by patriotic duty to break publicly with this Church, can yet not make up their minds to live isolated in their religious belief, nor to rely on the efficacy of pure negations for the change of the moral habits of a nation. Unfortunately, it is not paradox to maintain that Protestantism is not known in our country. The elementary truths to which we have called attention are generally so little felt that one might believe in a fixed plan to favor Catholicism by the maintenance of all the prejudices which cause it to exist. The persecutions to which Protestants have been subjected since the end of the last century, and the infamy or horror of which does not sufficiently touch us, have left the Reformation among us in such a humble and inferior condition that it appears to be merely tolerated. Every active and popular propaganda, every serious anti-catholic action, is denied to it. On the other hand, all facilities are offered to the clerical propaganda. It is popery which is the great distributer of temporal favors. Finally, the leaders of the oligarchic party, which are obeyed by only too large a portion of the dominant classes, have made of this privileged religion a kind of central fortress, to defend all abuses and all the social injustice which they find profitable. To labor for a true understanding of Protestantism, and thereby for its extension in our country, would serve the interests of civilization in general, and powerfully aid in the progress of the nations of Latin, Cesarian, and Papist traditions. Thus the Catholic organization, which has now definitively become what it has always endeavored to be, theocratic, would find itself in favor

of a war more dangerous than that now carried on against it every day by the press and individual protests." The same views are expressed by a Catholic writer, E. Réveillaud, in a pamphlet recently published under the title "The Religious Question and the Protestant Solution." (*La Question Religieuse et la Solution Protestante.* Paris, 1878.) The author calls on the Catholics who are convinced of the necessity of breaking with Rome to unite, and to organize a propaganda by sending able speakers to the most enlightened centers of France. These speakers are to convoke the liberal citizens, to lecture to them on the present state of society, and to ask them for immediate adhesion *en masse*. Then the Protestant authorities are to be called upon to furnish the new religious communities with pastors. The *Revue Chrétienne* recommends the pamphlet for its religious earnestness, though it is not sanguine in its expectations as to the prospects of the plan proposed.

Art. X.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The new Pope, Leo XIII., finds, at the beginning of his pontificate, the extensive religious connection of which he is the head in a very dangerous condition. The actual defections which have followed the Old Catholic movement may not yet attain a formidable number; indeed, the numerical relation of the Roman Catholic Church to other religious denominations has only to some extent been affected by it in Switzerland; but the attempt to force millions of merely nominal and indifferent Catholics into some kind of submission to the new pretensions of the hierarchy has awakened an opposition much stronger than was anticipated by the leaders of the Ultramontane party. In our summary of French reviews in the present number some reference is made to this manifestation of anti-Roman sentiments on the part of Spanish and French Catholics. We add to this an account of similar movements in Italy and Portugal. An interesting history of the reformatory movements which have taken place in the course of the present century in the Roman Catholic Church of Italy has recently been published in the fourth volume of the "Italia," a German periodical exclusively devoted to Italian affairs, and published by Karl Hildebrand. The following facts have been taken from it:—

A peculiarity of the Italians in regard to religious matters is the remarkable predominance of absolute indifference. In the parliamentary

proceedings of May, 1875, deputy Minervini expressed this opinion: "We have in Italy no religious question at all. From my friend, the Freethinker Macchi, down to Toscanelli, the chief representative of Catholic orthodoxy, I do not know a man who takes a warm interest in this question." The ministers of that year strongly indorsed this opinion. Minghetti, the Prime Minister, remarked: "If I study the history of Italy, I find the fact recorded on every page that our people have never become enthusiastic for religious affairs. From the times of ancient Rome down to the present day one seeks in vain in Italy for what has been called the religious passion." Minghetti's assertion that even the Italian Inquisition showed no trace of religious passion encountered an earnest contradiction, but the Minister of Public Instruction, Bonghi, one of the greatest scholars of Italy, declared, in concurrence with Minghetti's view: "We have no faith; the mere demand to believe makes faith for us impossible. The victory against Rome will not be obtained by any faith, but merely by the progressive development of reason, which shirks from no problem, from no question, from no difficulty, until it either overcomes them, or reaches the limits of its power." The great applause which was called forth by remarks like these confirms the view quite common among the best writers of Italy, that the Italians, as a nation, are destitute of religious feelings. Nearly four hundred years ago, when Martin Luther visited the Eternal City as a devout Catholic, he was frightened at the horrible impiety of the Italians. Macchiavelli, who gloried in this impiety, said: "We Italians are indebted to the Holy See for having made us indifferentists or atheists." A similar opinion on the influence which the Papacy has exerted upon the religion of Italy is expressed by Massimo d'Azeglio, one of the greatest statesmen and noblest characters of modern Italy: "Italy," he says, "is the old land of doubt. The Reformation gained little influence in Italy, not because the Inquisition annihilated it, but because Italy cared little for Rome, and less for Wittenberg. The priests of Rome have always shown by their deeds that they did not believe much; the doubt, the scorn, the sarcasm of Voltaire have always been more to their taste. The sight of Rome has stifled religion in Italy. And if it be true—as in my opinion it cannot be doubted—that a nation without faith cannot be strong and cannot be governed, it follows that Italy will never become a nation until it shall have formed a solid religious basis. Without this basis we shall always remain what we are now, a people of little strength, of a still weaker character, and of no ability to assimilate its primitive elements."

Notwithstanding this general tendency toward indifferentism, the number of those who believe in a religious reformation appears to be increasing. In the Parliament of 1875, which has already been referred to, the deputy, Tommasi Crudeli, made a distinction between the Roman Court and the Catholic Church, and claimed for the latter the right to see its desire for truth and freedom fulfilled. From a similar point of view, Guerrieri Gonzaga, now the foremost champion of the cause of Old Catholicism in Italy, assailed the Italian Government for giving to

Cavour's celebrated maxim: "A free Church in a free State," an entirely perverse application. Instead of regulating the normal relations between Church and State, Italy, he said, had made a law for proving to the world that the Pope, though deprived of his temporal power, was freer in Italy than any other country of the world. The maxim should no longer read "Free Church in a free State," but "Free Pope in a free State." Villari, the recent biographer of Savonarola, says: "Let us not be blind to the power and the influence of the priests. The public needs a religion; and because we never tell it a word on the religion which it needs, because it distrusts our rationalism, our skepticism, therefore it listens to the voice of the priests and trusts their guidance. It is our readiness to doubt which strengthens the power of the clergy. If we do not succeed in supporting the faith, and in feeding the true religious wants of the people, then may happen what I should regard as the most threatening prospect of the future: with our indifferentism and unbelief we shall only create a nation of Voltaireans and Ultramontanes." The remarks of Villari called forth several protests. Bonghi replied to him by the sarcastic question, "In what, then, does Signor Villari believe?" and another deputy asserted: "We happen to be children of the Renaissance and not of the Reformation; therefore all appeals for a religious change must die out unheeded." The fact, nevertheless, is well established, that at no time since the Reformation of the sixteenth century has there been so much thought, written, spoken, and planned on religious subjects in Italy as to-day.

The character of the hierarchy is so conspicuously political rather than religious, and the efforts of the Roman Court are manifestly so much more directed toward the preservation of its power than toward promoting Christian piety and a religious life, that many of those Italians who yearned for a religious renovation came to look upon the temporal power and the political connections of the Papal See as the only obstacle to the cause of religious reform, and upon a disconnection of the Church from politics as the surest road to a religious reformation of the Church. Such ideas were entertained by the two great national poets, Alessandro Manzoni and Silvio Pellico; the philosophers Rosmini and Gioberti; and the statesman Mamiani. Gioberti, whose name is so prominently connected with the establishment of the national unity of Italy, left a work, *Riforma Cattolica*, which was published after his death by Massari, and which proceeds from the maxim of Savonarola, "The Church needs a renovation." In chapter one hundred and fifty-nine of this work Gioberti says: "Thus far attempts have been made to reform Rome without Rome, or even against Rome. But it is rather necessary to reform Rome through Rome." And then the idealistic priest proceeds to enumerate a number of claims in regard to Church discipline which he advises Rome to abandon. The province of religious doctrines is not touched by him at all. Count Terenzio Mamiani in 1863 published a book, *La Rinascenza Cattolica*, in which he developed his views on religious reform. In 1871, when the temporal power of the

Pope had virtually come to an end, Mamiani wrote in a letter: "The reformatory movement in Italy is not intended to turn Protestant, or to establish a Church similar to the Anglican. It is, on the contrary, a Catholic reaction against Romanism, which has so long prevailed in the Latin Church and corrupted it. In the meanwhile, the antipapal reform has become exceedingly difficult since the latest dogmatic decisions, for it has now become necessary to deny the ecumenical character of the Vatican Council, and, instead, to revive the grand and salutary ideas of the Council of Constance, which reassigned to the Pope the position held by him in the most flourishing era of the Christian Church, that of the first among equals. But, unfortunately, there is reason to fear that all this may be too late. Romanism has finally achieved three deplorable results in Italy: superstition among the lower classes of people, indifferentism among the others, and unbelief among the majority of literary men and thinkers. After all, the greatest obstruction that had to be removed if the Catholic reform was to be made possible was the temporal power of the Pope; and a merciful Providence has caused us to be eye-witnesses of this great event."

In 1861 a learned priest of the city of Rome, Monsignore Liverani, apostolical protonotary, member of two congregations, and occupant of several other ecclesiastical titles and dignitaries, published a book under the title, *Il Papato, l'Impero e il Regno d'Italia*, (The Papacy, the Empire, and the Kingdom of Italy,) which caused a profound sensation in the Catholic world. With an unreserved openness the writer laid bare the evil consequences of the temporal power and the misgovernment from which Rome was suffering. He did not hesitate to assert publicly in this work—what, indeed, was an open secret in the city of Rome at that time—that under the secretaryship of Antonelli the States of the Church had become a prey to a rapacious family, and that Antonelli and his brothers had, with the aid of the Roman bank, converted the entire administration into a commercial and exchange company, which might be designated by the expression, official fraud. In a second section Liverani described with equal boldness the present condition of the Holy College of the Roman prelates, of the clergy in general, and of the Jesuits. Finally, he proposes a solution of the question of the temporal power, which, he thinks, might be satisfactory to the State and Church. He demands the re-establishment of the holy German Empire, not that of the German nation, which had perished in endless quarrels, but the Roman Empire of the Guidos, Lamberts, Arduins, and Berengars. The Italian Parliament should request the Pope to transfer upon the King of Italy the title and the rights of a Roman Emperor, and thus to solve the Roman question. Thus the king would receive his political power from the Pope in accordance with the strictest Vaticanism, and, moreover, in regard to the patrimony of St. Peter, only as a delegate. The real fullness of power would remain in the hands of the Church, and the king would be only the mandatory and representative of the Church. However ingenious as the plan might look, it was laughed at by the Italian Gov-

ernment and Parliament, and was not sufficiently Roman to obtain the consent of the Papal Court. The author was given up to the violent attacks of a fanatical press, of which Father Curci at one time said that it had monopolized papal infallibility for itself. Liverani had to act on the defensive, and held out until November, 1873, when the *Unita Cattolica* announced that the author had asked and received the Pope's pardon for his liberal whims. He had returned from Florence to Rome in order to meditate on the past in a monastery of the Passionists. Ironically, the *Unita Cattolica* added: "Liverani had the merit to have explained and defended the precious relics which are in possession of the *Basilica Liberiana*, namely, stones of the cradle and crib of Bethlehem, of the swaddling clothes of the Saviour, and the six boards of the cradle which bears an ancient name, *Cunabulum Domini nostri Jesu Christi*. Now, the *Bambino Gesu*, at the approach of his holy birthday, has conferred, through his representative upon earth, the favor upon Liverani of recalling him."

Almost simultaneously with Liverani, the celebrated Neapolitan Jesuit, Passaglia, began his literary controversy with the Papal Court. He wrote in the Latin language a pamphlet, "For the Cause of Italy to the Catholic Bishops, by a Catholic." On account of the great reputation of the author, who up to that time had been regarded as one of the foremost theologians of the Church of Rome, the pamphlet caused a sensation hardly inferior to that produced by Liverani's book, though its contents were by no means equally interesting. Passaglia bases his right to speak on the subject of the temporal power, first, upon the general priesthood of every Christian; after that, however, he lays stress on the fact of his priestly consecration, since in his eyes the special priesthood of the Church stands as high above the general priesthood of believers as heaven is above the earth. In eloquent language he describes how one name is re-echoed and eliciting the thanks of the nation from one end of Italy to the other—Victor Emanuel; while only the dignitaries of the Church stand sulkily aside, and the Vatican is hurling its anathemas against him. Why should the quarrel be perpetuated? Why should not the hand be offered for reconciliation? The wrong of Victor Emanuel was not proved; opinions on the subject were divided, and no more than a "probability" of right or wrong could be asserted. The oath which Pius IX. had taken to preserve the patrimony of St. Peter was not binding, since a higher honor of God would be obtained by a union with those who had proclaimed the noble maxim, "A free Church in a free State." Passaglia's work was at once put on the Index; the excitement about his book soon died out. Ere long the penitent Jesuit recalled all he had said, and his name, once famous, gradually sank into utter oblivion. Quite recently the attempt to reconcile the Government of Italy with the Church by concessions on the part of the latter has been renewed by another distinguished Jesuit, Father Curci. Like Passaglia, Curci had risen to great eminence among the Jesuits. He had been one of the founders and one of the chief editors of the *Civita Cattolica*, the

Roman organ of the Jesuits, which, as such, was quite generally looked upon by the Ultramontane party throughout the world as being at the head of the Catholic press, and as the truest and most reliable expounder of the real sentiments of the Holy Father in Rome. It is certainly remarkable that among the most fanatical advocates of the ultra-papal theories sudden changes of opinion occur frequently. Curci had become alarmed at the future of the Italian Church, and had for some years sought consolation in compiling a popular commentary to the four Gospels. In the preface to the first volume he set forth at length his views on the situation of the Church, and the importance of a reconciliation between the Pope and the King of Italy. As Curci had long been on the most friendly terms with the Pope, he submitted the *exposé* of his views to him, in the hope of producing some influence, but the Pope disapproved and rejected them. The public knew comparatively little about the matter until in February and March, 1877, the *Rivista Europea* published the document in full, without the knowledge of its author. Curci maintains that in all human probability the temporal power, in its former condition and under the former circumstances, is absolutely gone; that it is folly to sit waiting for its miraculous restoration, and still worse folly to tell the people that the Church teaches that such a miracle will certainly be wrought; that there is very little fear of any foreign power interfering to restore the temporal power by force of arms; that the interests of the Church and the religious welfare of the people are suffering steadily increasing injury as long as this policy of diversion is continued, and that it is the duty of the Church in the meantime to accept the condition under which God has seen fit to place her; to use all and every advantage that condition presents, and wait his good time for that restoration when, if ever, it may seem good in his eyes to make it. In the meantime he argues that the best way to regain the power is to accept a *modus vivendi* with Italy which would not necessarily require a renunciation on the Pope's part of his temporal claims; to take part in the political business of the country, and fight the Church's battle on the floor of the Italian Parliament. These views, it will be seen, are quite moderate, if compared with those of Passaglia and Liverani; they nevertheless gave great offense to the Ultramontane party, and led to the separation of Curci from the Order of the Jesuits. After seven months of estrangement, Curci has, however, addressed, on April 29th, 1878, a letter to Pope Leo XIII., in which he declares his unreserved concurrence in what the pontiffs, and in particular Leo XIII., in his encyclical, teach concerning the temporal power, withdrawing whatever the Pope "may consider deserving of censure," and placing himself completely in the Pope's hands, most ready to follow always and in all things the Pope's teaching.

Simultaneously with the pamphlet of Passaglia two periodicals were established in Italy which were to serve as special organs of the friends of a religious reformation. One was called *l'Esaminatore*, the other

l'Emancipatore Cattolico. The former, which appeared in Florence, as its cautious title indicated, wished only to examine what seemed to require a reform, and its contributors generally wrote under the cover of anonymity. The hope was throughout expressed that the Papal See might be induced to introduce the necessary reform. In 1865 the *Esaminatore* published an extensive programme, which contained the following points: 1. That the laity have the right of electing their clergymen, and that they obtain a share in the administration of the secular affairs of the Church. 2. That the clergy and the people have the right of electing the bishops, under reserve of the rights of the crown. 3. That the bishops and archbishops be restored to their ancient diocesan and governmental rights, and that their servile dependency of Rome, and their oath of allegiance to the Roman Pope be abolished. 4. That the celibacy of priests be left to the free decision of individual priests. 5. That the free circulation of the holy Scriptures among the laity be permitted. 6. That the liturgy be read in a language understood by the people. 7. That auricular confession cease to be obligatory, and that communion under both species be restored. The party of the *Esaminatore* has not obtained a great influence. It desired to remain within the Church even after the Vatican Council, and disapproved of the course which the Old Catholic movement took in Germany and Switzerland.

Of much greater importance is the history of the *Emancipatore Cattolico* of Naples. It is the organ of a society which calls itself the *Società Nazionale Emancipatrice e di Mutuo Soccorso del Sacerdozio Italiano.* This society was founded in November, 1862, by the Dominican monk, Luigi Prota-Giurleo, in the Convent of St. Domenico Maggiore, in Naples, and four other monks of the same convent. The Government of the new kingdom of Italy expected from this movement a valuable aid in its conflict with the Pope, and gave it a vigorous support. In less than two years the society, which soon constituted itself as the Italian Catholic National Church, counted thousands of members. It is claimed that no less than three thousand five hundred clergymen of all degrees, including even four bishops, had joined it, and two cardinals were its patrons; that the number of lay members was more than twice this number, and that among them there were thirty-two deputies, sixteen senators, four ministers, eighty-six magistrates, three generals, fifty officers, etc. Twenty-two branch associations were organized in different parts of Italy. When Rattazzi became Prime Minister he transferred to the society four churches in the city of Naples for divine service. The leaders of this movement were sanguine in their hope for a complete success, when a political change in 1865 arrested its further progress. Ricasoli became Prime Minister, and in view of the threatening complication in Europe considered a reconciliation, or at least a compromise, with Rome as desirable. Active negotiations were carried on in 1865 and 1868 for filling a number of episcopal sees. The Government allowed the bishops who had been exiled or left their sees to return, and recognized them by giving the exequatur. Ricasoli took from the society in Naples the four

churches which had been transferred to it, and the bishops were not interfered with when they adopted the harshest measures against all the priests who had been in any way connected with the Emancipation Society. Some of the priests who were deposed applied for aid to the Government and Parliament; when it became known that these appeals were useless, a large number of priests publicly recanted. For the poorer among those priests who remained faithful to their convictions, an "asylum for deposed priests" was founded at Naples. Thus the number of clerical adherents to the Italian Catholic National Church was greatly reduced; but in 1873 there were still the names of five hundred and four priests attached to the petitions to the Italian Parliament in behalf of a recognition by the State of the Italian Catholic National Church. At the election of the first bishop of the Church about four thousand votes were cast. The bishop elect, Panelli, was consecrated by an Oriental bishop, but in 1875 was found to be unfit for his position. The second bishop, Canon Stanislao Trabucco, died shortly after his election. On January 6, 1876, the founder and leader of the entire movement, Luige Prota-Giurleo, was elected bishop, ten thousand two hundred and fifty votes being cast, of which Prota-Giurleo received eight thousand six hundred and twenty-nine. The cities chiefly represented in the election were Rome, with 392 votes; Naples, with 83 votes; Salerno, with 376; Torrento, with 596; Nocero, with 722; Trani, with 904; Messina, with 130; Syracuse, with 63; and Barletta, which in 1866 became so notorious by the persecution of Protestantism, with 943. The bishop elect himself has stated that two hundred and forty priests remained faithful to the movement, and some of them still are in the most influential positions of the Church. The bishop says that he has friends who take care of the interests of the movement in the consistory of the archbishop of Naples, as well as in the Vatican itself. The bishop elect has as yet been unable to obtain the Episcopal consecration. The National Catholic Church of Italy regards only the decrees of the first seven ecumenical councils as binding for the entire Church. The councils held after the separation of the Eastern Churches are not considered as ecumenical, and to their decrees an obligatory character is therefore not ascribed. An article in the last number of the *Emancipatore* for 1877, which gives a review of the National Church during the year, explains the delay in the consecration of the bishop by the complication attending the Eastern war. "But we are satisfied," it says, "with the significant increase in the number of our adherents, especially among the high dignitaries of the Church, and the laity of the southern provinces, especially in Calabria, Apulia, Basilicata, and Salerno." The relations with the representatives of the Old Catholic movement in Germany, Switzerland, and France are said to have become very cordial and intimate, and proofs of fraternal sympathy to have been received from the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

Art. XI.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE.

E. de Pressensé has recently published the two discourses held by him on the occasion of the fifteenth synod of the independent evangelical Churches of France, which took place in November, 1877, at Lyons. The former treats of Christian Individualism and the Reformation, and the latter of Christian Individualism and the Crisis of French Protestantism. (*La Question Ecclesiastique in* 1877. Paris, 1878.) The author gives a very full review of the crisis in which the Reformed Church of France finds herself since 1877, and his book may at the same time be regarded as a reply of the free evangelical Churches which have repudiated the connection with the State to the discourse by which, about a year ago, E. Bersier, formerly a distinguished pastor of the free Churches, undertook to justify his entrance into the established Reformed Church.

ITALY.

Since 1873 the Protestant Churches of Italy have been represented among the scientific journals of Protestant theology by an able monthly, the *Rivista Cristiana*, which was established in 1873 at Florence. It is edited by three professors of the Waldensian Theological Seminary in that city, and counts among its contributors representatives of nearly all the Protestant communions which have been established in Italy since the introduction of religious toleration, as well as other friends of Italian Protestantism. We notice in the list of contributors the names of the Rev. Mr. Gay, a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the recently deceased Perfetti, (a Liberal Catholic,) the Frenchman Jules Bonnet, the Englishman Ifemans, and the Germans Dr. Benrath, Elze, and Roennecke. The two latter are pastors of German congregations in Venice and Florence; while Dr. Benrath, a young professor of theology at one of the German universities, is author of a number of excellent works on Italian Protestantism, some of which have been mentioned in former numbers of the "Methodist Quarterly Review." The scope of the *Rivista* embraces all departments of Protestant theology, and the editors show a thorough acquaintance with the progress of theological science all over the world. Of special value for the Protestant world at large are the numerous articles relating to the history of the Reformation in Italy. As many Italian archives are only now becoming accessible to Protestants through the liberality of the National Government of Italy, the *Rivista* finds an abundance of excellent material for historical articles. Of the three editors, it is especially Comba who devotes himself to this subject. He has published valuable articles on the Reformation in Venice, having been enabled to use, for the first time, the minutes of the Inquisition, which are preserved in the Venetian *Archivio di Frari*, and other valuable documents. A valuable

article by Pons on the exegetical worker Antonio Bruccioli, is likewise based on the archives of the Venetian Inquisition. The German pastor in Venice, Elze, has contributed an interesting article on "Luther Before the Diet of Worms, according to the Letters and Reports of the Venetian Deputies." Each number of the *Rivista* contains also a summary of current ecclesiastical events.

Art. XII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

History of Opinions on the Scriptural Doctrine of Retribution. By Edward Beecher, D.D. 12mo., pp. 334. 1878.

With a rather exclusive self-identification with New England Calvinism, the writer of this book unites a fair share of the eccentricity of a Beecher. Years ago he dissented from "orthodox" views by adopting Origen's doctrine of the pre-existence of souls, and in the present volume he favors Origen's doctrine of restoration. Without any sympathy with his leaning in this direction, we recognize his candor and conscientious spirit, we approve his plea for a restoration of the ancient spirit of mutual tolerance of opinions in the evangelical section of the Church, and have been not a little interested in the historical views he unfolds.

He first traces the history of the opinions on retribution in the Old Testament times, then in the period intermediate between the Old Testament and the New, and is then prepared for his investigation of the state of opinions in the early Church. Among religious thinkers before the publication of the New Testament there was the same variety of view as exists now. Philo and the Ascension of Isaiah taught annihilation of the wicked; the Sybilline Oracles, restoration; the Book of Enoch and the Book of Esdras, eternal misery.

In the early Church he gives the following as, in his view, the "real state of facts:"—"What, then, was the state of facts as to the leading theological schools of the Christian world in the age of Origen, and some centuries after? It was, in brief, this: There were at least six theological schools in the Church at large. Of these six schools, one, and only one, was decidedly and earnestly in favor of the doctrine of future eternal punishment. One was in favor of the annihilation of the wicked. Two were in favor of the doctrine of universal restoration on the principles of Origen,

and two in favor of universal restoration on the principles of Theodore of Mopsuestia."

The restorationism of Origen, he affirms, was not attacked until A. D. 376, when Epiphanius assailed his doctrine of the restoration of the devil, though not his doctrine of the restoration of all men. It was not until A. D. 544 that the restoration of all men was condemned, and then by a local and not a general council, and that by the arbitrary mandate of the Emperor Justinian. Thus Restorationism, we are told, was no heresy until the sixth century.

Between the two specialties Restorationism can, we think, boast a broader diffusion, but Annihilationism the earlier antiquity.

1. Of the apostolic fathers not one uses language that can be construed into Restorationism. Constable claims that they all express Annihilationism, and it is true that their expressions may be easily and naturally so construed. It is also true that most of them can be construed as according with the doctrine of eternal infliction. It often depends on the definition we give to certain terms which of the meanings we shall find. But not one of them utters an expression that can be construed into Restorationism. The earliest avowal of that doctrine comes from Origen. 2. Justin Martyr, who preceded Origen, and lived in Palestine, as Dr. B. fully admits and maintains, was an Annihilationist. 3. Dr. B. also fully admits that Irenæus, the great head of the St. John school of theology in Asia Minor, the contemporary of Origen, was an Annihilationist. Between St. John and Irenæus was Polycarp, the acquaintance and friend of both. Dr. B. admits that, if we could find Annihilationism in Polycarp, it would be a strong "case" of connecting that doctrine with the apostle. And what does he find in Polycarp? The find is certainly remarkable. Short and undoctrinal as Polycarp's epistle is, it contains three passages in which, Dr. B. says, "a holy life seems to be made the condition of the resurrection from the dead." But then there is a third passage which, he thinks, reverses this view. That passage reads thus: "He shall come to be the Judge of the quick and the dead, and his [Christ's] blood God shall require of them that believe not on him." But surely that passage affirms no resurrection of the wicked. The most ultra Annihilationists, the Second Adventists of the present day, fully believe that, at the coming of Christ, the wicked dead will be judged without a resurrection, and condemned as unworthy to be raised to eternal life. Dr. B. is, therefore, defenseless against their connecting Annihilationism with St. John through Polycarp. Without accepting either, we

think no fair controversialist should deny that "conditional immortality" makes the more respectable showing of the two in the earliest post-apostolic Christian age.

A Treatise on the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. By CHARLES ELLIOTT, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the North-west, Chicago, Ill. 8vo. pp. 283. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George-st. 1877. Special edition imported by Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong, New York. Price, $3.

This fine volume comes to us from Illinois by the way of Scotland. Though coming from a publishing house usually issuing works for scholars alone, this is addressed to the general reader. With such purpose, it is written in a fresh, free, popular style, giving results rather than processes, and unburdened with untranslated quotations and learned references. It is divided into Three Parts. The First Part, after some introductory matter, has four excellent chapters on the canon, the integrity of its text, its historic credibility, and its scientific accuracy. Part Second brings us proofs of the inspiration. The proofs are drawn from the unique character, the diversity in unity, the organic completeness, the universality, the beneficent effects, the prophetic character, and the self-testimony of the Scriptures. Part Third furnishes important definitions, various theories of inspiration, and conclusions as to its true nature and extent. The author's views of inspiration are firm and high. A cheaper American edition with a broad circulation would exert a healthful effect on the public mind.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Modern Philosophy from Descartes to Schopenhauer and Hartmann. By FRANCIS BOWEN. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co.

Every one is at liberty to choose his own subject, but, as long as there is a convention in language, one should not feel at liberty to choose a misleading title. Professor Bowen, therefore, has the fullest right to publish a series of essays upon such philosophical systems as he finds interesting; but the title "Modern Philosophy" is much too large for the product. There is no mention of the Scotch philosophy, of the modern English philosophy, of the realistic philosophers of Germany, or of the leading living thinkers in Germany. If Professor Bowen chose to limit himself to German philosophy, there are certainly many systems more worthy of mention than some which he has expounded at great length.

Herbart, Trendelenburg, Ulrici, and Lotze are not noticed; and, instead, a hundred pages are devoted to Schopenhauer and Hartmann, who, so far as philosophy is concerned, hardly deserve mention at all. Schopenhauer's philosophy consists of the doctrine that the will is the thing in itself, and of a vast amount of abuse of every body else. The abuse is probably his own, but the doctrine of will as the basal element of being was published by Schelling in 1812, seven years before Schopenhauer's work appeared. The later form of Schelling's philosophy, which contains most of what is valuable in Schopenhauer, is not even noticed by Professor Bowen. Neither Schopenhauer nor Hartmann have any significance for thought. They have, indeed, railed mightily at the world, which they have done nothing to improve, and at humanity, which they have done nothing to honor. Besides, many editions of their works have been sold, and they have become popular with the newspaper philosophers and the disaffected classes. And this is not strange, for fashion determines the opinions of all would-be philosophers, and with many it is equal to a liberal education to be able to rail and scowl. But we expect the historian of philosophy to reverse all such judgments of conceited incapacity. Tupper may be widely read, but he does not, on that account, become a classic. The dime-novelist deserves no more consideration in philosophy than in literature.

A much more important question, however, is, How has the work been done? As English histories of philosophy go, the work is fairly done; but we cannot raise it high. It is not as good as it should be, and we are justified in expecting something better from Professor Bowen's life of leisure and study. The expositions lack point both in thought and statement. The critical points of the systems are not placed in a clear light: for example, the key of Leibnitz's system lies in the notion of substance. It was at this point that Leibnitz broke with Descartes and Spinoza, and here he made his chief contribution to philosophy. But one would get little idea of either the profundity or importance of his speculations on this point from Professor Bowen's exposition. Again: Leibnitz held the doctrine of latent mental modifications to be of the utmost importance in understanding mental phenomena; but Professor Bowen, though mentioning the doctrine, fails to give it the emphasis which it had in Leibnitz's system. His doctrine of volition and determinism is not mentioned at all. In short, we believe it possible to give a much more vivid and characteristic account of Leibnitz in the same space. In Descartes' system the

first question is, How does the *cogito, ergo sum*, become a fruitful principle? Professor Bowen does not give a clear statement of this point? The next difficulty is: If the existence of God is known by assuming the truth of consciousness, and the truth of consciousness is proved by reference to the divine veracity, has not Descartes reasoned in a circle? This fundamental question is not noticed. The essay on Spinoza is so general as to give only the commonplace information of any of the manuals. Whether Spinoza regards the Absolute as the cause or ground of the universe; whether the development of the Infinite is dynamic and successive, or whether it is only logical, and, hence, not in time—these questions are untouched, although great names are on both sides. The failure of Spinoza's monism, like that of the Eleatics, to account for the phenomenal world, is not noticed. His anthropology, which contains some of the most interesting parts of Spinoza's philosophy, is omitted. The essays on Fichte and Schelling give us no hint of the later form of their philosophies, and not a very clear account of their earlier views. The universal or transcendental ego, with which Fichte starts, finds its warrant in Kant; but Professor Bowen leaves its origin unnoticed. The primacy of the practical reason in Kant's system is the key to Fichte's views; but nothing is made of it in Professor Bowen's exposition. The essay on Hegel must be regarded as a failure. *Being equals thought*, is Hegel's fundamental equation; but what does he mean? Does he mean that any fancy of my mind becomes thereby a thing? or does he mean that every true thought of a thing is the thing itself ideally considered, and that the thing is only the realized thought? All being must have law and content, and, so far as it exists for us, that law and content must be rational. The irrational—that is, that which contradicts the fundamental laws of thought—cannot exist. Now, there are many who hold that Hegel meant this and nothing more. Again: Did Hegel teach a logical or a successive development of the Absolute? This is the question on which the schools split. We have no doubt ourselves that Hegel, in his "Logic," meant to describe a logical and not a temporal development of the idea. That these questions cannot be easily answered is, no doubt, true—the existence of the right and left wings prove that—but certainly no critic is justified in ignoring them. Moreover, if we admit the rule that a man is not gratuitously to be made out a fool or a knave, there can be little doubt of Hegel's own mind on these points. There is paralogism enough in Hegel's application of his theory to

details, and it could not be otherwise; but the underlying thought, that the laws of reason are also the laws of reality, is the necessary postulate of both religion and objective science. For compact statement, painstaking scholarship, and relevant criticism, the work in hand is not to be compared with the better class of German histories of philosophy. It retains the diffuseness of the lecture-room, and gives no information about the original writings, to say nothing of verifiable quotations. Its value, then, is not for the student, but for the general reader, or for one who is cramming for a loose, general examination. Without doubt, however, the general reader would find the work very useful in giving an outline of many philosophical systems which are not dealt with in most English works. We will only add that, to our taste, the author now and then protests too much. Rhetorical shudders are nowhere more out of place than in a history of philosophy. B.

Political Science; or, The State Theoretically and Practically Considered. By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, lately President of Yale College. 2 vols., pp. 585, 626. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1878.

Our English literature has been so barren of late years in works on political science, that we are prepared to welcome any respectable treatise on the subject. But this work of Dr. Woolsey's is almost a matter of pride, as it certainly goes far to redeem us from the reproach of sterility in this most important field. The work falls into three main divisions, as follows: "Doctrine of Rights as the Foundation of a Just State," "Theory of the State," and "Practical Politics." Part I treats of the general and particular rights of the person, and of society, with their sources and limitations. Part II expounds the theory of the State, and compares and criticises the various views upon this subject. Part III comprises about two thirds of the entire work, and will probably be found the most satisfactory part of it. Here the author reviews the earliest forms of government, and their development into monarchies, aristocracies, democracies, and confederations. Our own national system is analyzed at length, and compared with those of other countries. Here, also, the author discusses the function of the State as regards taxation, education, industries, etc.; and also its relations to order, public safety, morality, and religion. With the author's general conclusions we are in entire accord; and we do not hesitate to say, that no other work in the English language covers so wide a field, and that no other author has treated these subjects more fairly and impartially, or with greater knowledge and good-sense.

Passing to specific criticism, we are least satisfied with the author's discussion of the theory and foundation of rights. For ourselves, we hold that rights must be based either on power or on ethics; and that there is no middle way. The former conception, in whatever form held, reduces us to Hobbes' doctrine of the war of all against all as the natural state of man, which is terminated and made wrong only by enactment. This results in a complete subversion of the notion of rights; for these are nothing when they are not sacred and obligatory in themselves. We can escape this result only by making morals the foundation of rights, as follows: The development of the moral personality is the unconditional duty of every human being. It is, therefore, the duty of every other with regard to him to observe the conditions of his development so far as they are consistent with similar duties to other beings who co-exist with him. Hence, the acts and omissions on the part of B, which the right development of A demands, constitute A's rights with reference to B, and B's duties with reference to A. On this ground we can give a reason for the sacredness of rights. Man has duties, a moral task, to perform; hence he has inalienable rights. Separate the thought of moral duties, and there is no reason, except prudence; why men should not be enslaved as well as cattle. But man was not made for solitude. He can attain to his true self only in society. Hence, there is a foundation in human nature for the State, and thus the State has rights. It has no rights in itself, as if the empty form were of any account; but it has rights, as being necessary to the right development of the person. Hence, also, the State exists for the person, and not conversely. Theoretically, then, the State has a moral foundation and a moral significance. It does not exist to keep a herd of cattle browsing *quietly together*, but to furnish the conditions of the development of moral beings. As such, it may rightly undertake any measures, of whatever sort, which promise moral advantage to the individual. We believe that neither reason nor conscience will tolerate any other theory of rights and of the State than this. But, while Dr. Woolsey's views are in general agreement with these principles, it seems to us that he has not made the ethical foundation of rights and of the State sufficiently clear, but has at times almost ignored it. This we hold to be the chief defect of the work.

But, after laying down the theoretical relation of the State to the individual and to morality, while it is quite clear how much the State may do, it is not clear how much it is well for the State to do. This is entirely a question of experience, and not of

a priori determination. Formally, the State may do whatever will be for the general, and especially for the moral, development of the members of society; but this does not give us any insight into the best division of labor between the person and the State. Here the author shows great good-sense in refusing to side with the *doctrinaires* of either side. No general rule can be laid down which will hold for all cases. In certain states of social development many forms of governmental action may be expedient which would be inexpedient in other stages of progress. We quite agree with the author in justifying the theory of State religious establishments; and we equally agree with him in concluding that experience has shown that in modern society it is better for the State to leave religion to take care of itself. Mere speculation can determine nothing with regard either to the best form of a government or to the limits of governmental action. Most of our discussions of these topics are vitiated by the attempt to settle theoretically questions which are amenable only to experience. And so one party will have it that government is a matter of police; another party insists that government may rightly do any thing, and, therefore, it must attempt to do every thing. One will have it that the individual conscience should be free, and then he denounces all legislation against public immorality. Another recognizes that society has a moral root, and at once he jumps to the conclusion that it should regulate both morals and religion. Both of these extremes are well avoided by Dr. Woolsey. Taking the work as a whole, it is the best of its kind in our language.

The Epoch of the Mammoth and the Apparition of Man upon the Earth. By JAMES C. SOUTHALL, A.M., LL.D., Author of the "Recent Origin of Man." 12mo., pp. 430, with Illustrations. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878.

The great work of Mr. Southall on the Recent Origin of Man, which has been amply noticed and summarized in our Quarterly, has made an unquestionable mark on the theories of man's geologic antiquity, so rife among scientists at the present day. Its immense masses of facts, gathered not only from scientific sources, but from the widest range of ancient and modern literature, have rolled down like an avalanche upon the pretended discoveries and dreamy theories which have reflected discredit upon an entire section of pseudo-scientific speculation with a very crushing effect. The present volume is an abridgment and popularization of that work, brought down in its survey of the argument to the present hour, and made more accessible to the general reader. At the

same time it is a brave advertisement from the author that after the lapse of time since his first publication he holds himself to be unanswered and has no retractions to make.

The work in its present form and popular style is worthy of a wide circulation. Several copies of it should be deposited in every library of our scientific institutions; especially in those institutions where there come from the professors themselves trenchant affirmations of the miocene man. Let the pupils know both sides of the question.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Adamites and Pre-Adamites. A Popular Discussion concerning the Remote Representations of the Human Species and their Relation to the Biblical Adam. By ALEXANDER WINCHELL, LL.D. (Originally published in the Northern Christian Advocate.) 12mo., pp. 540. Syracuse, N. Y.: John T. Roberts. 1878.

The appearance of Dr. Winchell's essays in the Northern Advocate evinces that the able editor is, "on sober second," or third, or fourth, "thought," not insensible that scientific discussions at great length, when they touch the biblical record, are worthy an ample place in a religious journal. Wisely, we think, he has spread these views before the people, not only for discussion, but to show that the believers in the Scriptures are not afraid of discussion.

The main point in these essays is the pre-Adamitism of the negro and other dark races. The learned author emphasizes the fact that the very word Adam contains the idea of *red;* that this may easily include the Mongol, with the Caucasian; but excludes the negro, who is *black.* To attribute the inferiority of these races to a process of degradation reverses in his estimation the "law of progress," which is elevation. Without any attempt to refute or even to dispute these positions, we will jot down some counter-considerations, which tend to preserve our belief in both the unity and Adamic origin of all our race.

1. If Adam means *red,* Ham, or, as it should be written, *Kham,* means *black;* and Egypt is called by the Psalmist the land of Kham; and the old Coptic name of Egypt was *Khemi.* Now, it is remarkable that, according to Moses, the posterity of this *black* patriarch streams *southward;* down into Africa; beyond the light of history; able in a few thousand years to fill a whole continent. It is held by some of the best scholars, Rawlinson included, that in the tenth chapter of Genesis most of the names of the descendants of the three sons of Noah were not per-

sonal, but tribal. They were, at any rate, names from which tribes, and races, and nations sprung. Now, several of the latest of these tribal names in the line of Kham cannot be positively assigned to any known tribes. They are apparently germ names, from which there sprung tribes who flung into more southerly Africa in the twilight and night of history. They are suggestive starting-points, indicating the stream of dark and ever darkening Adamites, spreading out beneath the rays of the African sun, from Suez to Good Hope.

2. Is it not reasonable to suppose, or can science deny, that the Adamic race was more plastic in its early days than now? There are some things in the Bible that imply this. The antediluvians lived centuries, at any rate those in the direct patriarchal line; and it was gradually that their lives dwindled down to our normal period. Paleontology is full of its displays of plasticity and variation in animal life. There was once an age of mammoths, and iguanodons, and other horrible things with horrible names. If we mistake not, species do seem to start up with strange suddenness and develop in forms, and rapidities, and magnitudes, at which ignorant science in all her pride stands aghast and dumbfounded. Species do start up with mighty vigor in the morning of life, and either dwindle by slow decay or go out at a leap. Certain it is that species have divergent capacities, some more some less. Indeed, we suspect that the true idea of a species is *a central form with a certain range of possible divergences.* And of every species, did we know the true limits of divergence, we might, perhaps, be able to draw a generic diagram. Now, is it at all unreasonable to suppose that the early Adamic race might have possessed a greater and more sudden divergent power than now; and that as it spread out from its first center into various climates and conditions, it might have early finished out its whole generic programme? If we are told that science has no experience of any such thing, and therefore "cannot know it;" we reply, that there is no experience by which science knows the contrary. She knows nothing about it; and must, therefore, hush into silence and let history speak. Our maxim is not: *The Bible is false unless science can affirm its statements.* Our maxim is: *The Bible is true unless science can incontrovertibly prove its statements false.* If this superiority of plasticity in the early Adamic race was real, we easily understand how the negro early appears on the monuments, and how the paleolithic man may have been both a son of Noah and an Eskim

3. We suspect that the Africans in Africa are an eminently plastic population. There are on that continent an immense variety of colors and characters, indicating an intense susceptibility to climatic influences. There appears to be a rapid physiological variability, and a tendency to abnormal specialties hardly belonging to the human species, except as a strange accident. There is a very great tendency to immense changes in language, especially where the alphabet is unknown. Fontaine has shown that two communities of American Indians once speaking the same language can by separation become unintelligible to each other in two centuries. It can be shown that African languages are still more variable; so that in two or three thousand years all traces of identity may be lost. In physical characteristics the African tribes shade off into each other. In short, the variations of the African populations from the Adamic original may be only a question of time; and the question of time is only a question of plasticity. Our impression is that a great extent of time might be a convenience, but is hardly a necessity.*

* Braee, in his "Raees of the Old World," quotes from Dr. Yvan a deseriptiun of eertain Portuguese in the peninsula of Malaeea, from whieh we give some extraets:—

"In the *space of half a century*, perhaps, religion, morals, tradition, written transmission of thought, are effaced from their remembranee. The most hideous idleness and absenee of all wants are substituted for enjoyments acquired by labor. This degradation presents itself under its characteristic forms: stunted growth, physieal ugliness, want of life among children, obtuse intelligence, perverted instinets, progressive successions of sickly transformations, reaeliing, as a final result, to the extreme limits of imbecility." This last degenerative form appears strikingly in the deseriptions of Dr. Yvan, and we eite his own words. "There exists," says Dr. Y., "in the environs of Malaeea, in the direction of Mount Ophir, a little hamlet situated in the midst of the jungles. The inhabitants of this hamlet are in a frightful state of destitution; they do not eultivate, they live outside of all soeial laws, having neither priest to marry them, nor eadi, nor judge, nor mayor, to regulate their differenees. Their dwellings are a kind of eabins made of reeds eovered with leaves of the palm-tree, and their only industry eonsists in going into the woods to seareh for the wax produeed by wild bees, in washing sand, and in gathering the resin whieh runs down the trees.

"The three or four men that we found in the hamlet were lying down aside, smoking eourse maize eigarettes, and chewing the *siri* like the women. Every one was naked, or wore very little clothing. The complexion of the children was almost white; that of the men and women, soot eolor. They had thiek lips, large black eyes, straight projeeting nose, and rough long hair. They were all small and thin. One would have said that this population passed without transition from infaney to the deeline of manhood; youth seemed not to exist for these unhappy people; their eyes were hollow and their skin withered.

"Our guides, who were Malays, addressed some of the women, asking them

4. The "law of progress" we hold to be alternative in its character. It may tend upward, or it may be downward, or it may be horizontal, according to conditions. Nations and races have their falls, as well as their rises. They rise and they fall either by slow ascent and decline, or by sudden success or catastrophe. Surely Dr. Winchell is familiar with instances that astonish us at the depth of degradation to which a community may descend, and astonish us still more at the suddenness with which the descent is made. And we doubt whether deeper degradations can be found among the tribes of Africa than among the tribes of Northern Asia, whom Dr. W. derives from Adam.

In the early ages whenever emigrations took place from the seats of civilization, the conditional law of progress worked rapidly downward. No vehicles could carry the machineries and conveniences of life, and the traveler went, or was driven, forth, in comparative nakedness. Scarcity begat quarrels, and the weaker party were driven farther into the wilder wilderness, already barbarized. In the struggle for life temper was rendered savage, knowledge was lost, body was degraded, and all recollection of the primitive period was erased. And yet, strange to say, remembrances of the Edenic origin and of the Noachic flood can be traced from Chaldea to Mexico!

On the whole, we do not yet quite accept the pre-Adamite.

Caricature and other Comic Art in all Times and many Lands. By JAMES PARTON. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877. 8vo., pp. 340.

Pictorial satire is one of the earliest and most universal forms of art, and its history presents a phase of human nature amusing to the popular thinker and suggestive to the philosopher. Both as-

how they named their village, where were their husbands, etc. But after hearing their replies, they declared to us that they could not comprehend perfectly what they said, on account of a great many words that were not Malayan. The priest who accompanied me descended from his horse, approached them, and discovered that the language they spoke was a simple mixture of Malay and Portuguese.

"This language itself was the most real expression of the sad mental state of these unhappy people. They knew neither who they were nor whence they came. The names by which they were called represented no family recollection, for they lived rather promiscuously. The idea of the time was above their weak conception, and most of them made themselves remarked by such brutishness that their visitors could obtain no reasonable reply even to the most simple questions."

If half a century can produce such a degradation, what can a thousand years accomplish?

pects of that phase are admirably presented in this volume. The abundance and the elegance of the illustrations, with their comic connections, are a perpetual amusement, and Mr. Parton's discussions are often in his best style, both piquant and reflective. The work begins with the remains of Roman caricature as exhumed at Pompeii. It traces the art, with ample and amusing specimens, in Greece, in Egypt, and in India. In Europe it follows the chronological line, religious and secular, from the Middle Ages, through the Reformation and the Puritan times. As the modern nations arise, the thread branches and becomes complex. Specially interesting is the chapter of caricature during our American Revolution. Of course, when we arrive at our own day, when Nast and his various competitors send out their multitude of displays, daily and weekly, history is swamped by the abundance of material.

Of all extant caricatures, there is one possessing a supreme interest for the historian and the Christian thinker. It is a most singularly accidental proof of the historical truth of Christianity, derived by unique means from an unexpected source. It is the caricature of a Christian at the close of the first century, worshiping a crucified ass. We give it here as presented in the volume.

"This picture was found in 1857 upon the wall of a narrow Roman street, which was closed up and shut out from the light of day about A. D. 100, to facilitate an extension of the imperial palace. The wall when uncovered was found scratched all over with rude caricature drawings in the style of the specimen given. This one immediately arrested attention, and the part of the wall on which it was drawn was carefully removed to the Collegio Romano, in the museum of which it may now be inspected. The Greek words scrawled upon the picture may be translated thus: 'Alexamenos is worshiping his God.'

"These words sufficiently indicate that the picture was aimed

at some member, to us unknown, of the despised sect of the Christians. It is the only allusion to Christianity which has yet been found upon the walls of the Italian cities; but it is extremely probable that the street artists found in the strange usages of the Christians a very frequent subject."—Pp. 25–6.

This is an incontestable proof that Christianity existed at Rome in the first century; that its founder was held to have been crucified; and that he was understood by Pagans to be worshiped by his followers as God.

The Christian's Heritage, and other Sermons. By the late MELANCTHON W. JACOBUS, D.D., LL.D., together with an unfinished Autobiography. Edited by his son-in-law, Rev. MATTHEW NEWKIRK. 12mo., pp. 361. New York: Carter & Brothers. 1878.

The autobiographical sketch of Dr. Jacobus is short and hardly satisfactory. Where our interest in a man's life depends chiefly upon the historic events in which he bore a part, the story is all the better from the fact that he who tells it saw with his own eyes the things which he describes. But where our interest centers in the man himself, how he began, how he grew, and what he became, some one else should tell the story. The autobiographer writes in perpetual dread of the possible charge of egotism and self-conceit, and so dares not tell all we want to know.

Dr. Jacobus was born in Newark, N. J., and made a profession of religion when about fourteen years of age, uniting with the Presbyterian Church. He was educated at Princeton, passing through the college and the Theological Seminary with great credit. When about twenty-four years old he was licensed to preach the Gospel, and the next year was settled as pastor of a Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, N. Y. Here he remained eleven years, honored, useful, growing steadily in influence among his people, and also among his brethren in the Church generally. In 1852 he was elected to the Chair of Oriental and Biblical Literature, in the Western Theological Seminary, at Allegheny, Pa., where he spent the remainder of his life, about twenty-five years, during fourteen of which he was also pastor of a Church in Pittsburgh. He died very suddenly, "almost without seeing death or tasting its bitterness," in October, 1876, at the age of sixty years, leaving a name which will long remain "as ointment poured forth."

He was eminent as a preacher, and many who had been profited by his discourses desired to possess some of them in permanent form, hence this publication. The discourses selected are twenty

in number, the subjects being: "The Christian Heritage," "The Limitations of the Divine Working," "The Laws of the Divine Manifestation," "Modern Indifferentism," "Every Man his Own Builder," etc.

And they are sermons, models of clear, direct, and powerful appeal to saint and sinner, instructing, cheering, building up, urging the one to high attainments in the divine life, inviting and beseeching the other to come and secure an "uttermost salvation." There occur now and then some of the technical terms and phrases of the Geneva School of Theology. In fact, he always writes under the shadow of his creed; and in his strongest appeals to the unsaved there is a painful carefulness in the use of words, which shows that he was laboring hard to save his doctrines as well as to save the sinner. He opens the door widely, points to the rich banquet spread, and urges all to come in and eat and drink, without money or price; but there is a certain caution in the invitation, a true indication of mental reservation, and the preacher is all the while mindful of Calvinistic skeletons in the closet, even when he declares that "every man's eternal future shall be according to his own free choice."

A Series of Lectures on Transubstantiation, and other Errors of the Papacy. Delivered in St. Louis, Missouri. By E. M. MARVIN, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Second Edition. 12mo. St. Louis: Logan D. Dameron, Agent, Advocate Publishing House. 1878.

As it appears from a preface dated in 1860, a priest of the Romish Church delivered in St. Louis, in the Autumn of 1859, a series of lectures on the points in controversy between Catholics and Protestants. These lectures were reported in full in the columns of a city paper, and attracted considerable attention. The Rev. E. M. Marvin (afterward one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, lately deceased) was led to deliver in reply, on successive Sunday evenings, in the church of which he was then pastor, a series of discourses in defense of Protestant principles. The copyright is dated in 1878, and the book appears as a posthumous publication.

The published discourses are twenty-two in number. The topics discussed are those which have been long in controversy, such as, The Rule of Faith; Transubstantiation; Infallibility; The Primacy of Peter; Church Unity; The Doom of the Papacy; The Influence of Romanism in Religion and Civilization, etc. These subjects are handled fairly and in a good spirit, yet ably and vigorously. The author does not withhold the truth, however un-

welcome its utterance may be to his opponent; but he does not disgust an inquiring reader nor irritate his antagonist by sneers and needless insult. This is wise as well as Christian. There is an instinctive tendency to judge of doctrines, not wholly by the abstract arguments adduced in their support, but by the character which they seem to create, and the spirit which they foster.

Our author is master of his subject. His style is clear and forcible; his argumentation is candid, fair and conclusive; and if his modes of expression are now and then somewhat more animated and rhetorical than is usual in grave theological treatises, the reason is found in the fact that the work was not written for the professional student, but consists of discourses prepared for a popular audience. For such popular use they are admirably adapted. There is enough of solid reasoning, enough of historic and biblical learning, to amply sustain the positions taken, and yet so much of vivacity and the force of personal address as to make the book attractive to the general reader.

Crowned Victors: The Memoirs of over Four Hundred Methodist Preachers, including the First Two Hundred and Fifty who died on this Continent. Compiled by Rev. J. W. HEDGES. Introduction by Rev. A. E. WILSON, D.D. 8vo., pp. 630. Baltimore: Methodist Episcopal Book Depository. Rev. D. H. CARROLL, Agent. 1878.

This is a noble memorial volume, commemorative mainly of the departed worthies of the "Old Baltimore" Conference. The "two hundred and fifty" of the first generation includes, indeed, the entire body of the Conferences. The so-called "memoirs" appear to be simply the Conference obituaries, literally copied, preceded by the usual question, "Who have died?" and, after the manner of the time, rather brief characterizations than biographies.

But more than half the volume is devoted to the Baltimore Conference. Here, too, the "memoirs" appear to be a simple compilation from the Conference minutes. For a large share of the names this was sufficient; but there was a galaxy of brilliant men furnished to the Church by Baltimore, of whom the routine obituary hardly furnishes a sufficient record. Better justice should, at this day, have been done to John A. Collins, whose great parliamentary ability shone so splendidly at the General Conference of 1844. There was the quaint and versatile James Sewall, than whom no speaker we ever heard had greater power of transforming his audience with alternate wit and pathos, convulsing them with laughter while the tear was yet moist in the eye. "Brethren," said he at the close of a discourse, "I have

now preached you a good sermon; a first-rate sermon; the best sermon, I think, that I ever preached in my life. But it is none of mine; it is old Robert South's." To another Sewall, *young* Thomas Sewall, (he will, as our well-remembered pupil at college, be always *young* to our recollection,) a warmer and more fitting tribute is paid.

It is a handsome volume, creditable to the press that issues it, and worthy to be a monumental record to "Old Baltimore."

Educational.

The Principles of Rhetoric, and their Application. By ADAMS S. HILL, Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Harvard College. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Elements of Rhetoric. By JAMES DE MILLE, M.A. New York: Harper & Brothers.

It was Goldsmith, we believe, who remarked of Kames' "Elements of Criticism," "It is easier to write such books than to read them." We incline to think that many readers since his day have entertained a similar opinion. Of treatises upon rhetoric there are more than enough; but they are, for the most part, very dull reading, even to the students who are supposed to need them. Upon most of them Butler's keen couplet—

> "All the rhetorician's rules
> But teach him how to name his tools"—

is still an apt criticism. A classified list of tropes, and of the varieties of style and kinds of composition, is not rhetoric. A scheme of the intellectual faculties, the emotions and desires, is not rhetoric. And yet one or the other of these things, or, sometimes, an odd mixture of both, forms the staple of most books upon the subject. Rhetoric is purely an art, not a science. It aims to state the laws of effective communication by language. Such laws are, indeed, based upon principles; but the investigation of these principles belongs, not to rhetoric, but to the sciences of psychology, esthetics, logic, and grammar.

It is the prime merit of Professor Hill's little manual, that its author has discovered clearly the limits of his subject, and has treated it in a simple and orderly manner, rigorously excluding all irrelevant discussion. Part First gives rules for purity, clearness, force, and elegance of diction; for the arrangement of words in the sentence, and of sentences in the paragraph. Part Second contains special directions for the management of narrative and

argumentative composition. All discussion of poetry as a distinct variety of composition is omitted, and very properly. The explanation of its forms belongs to grammar; the explanation of its principles to esthetics. The definitions and rules throughout are clear and terse, and are illustrated by an abundance of fresh and well-chosen examples, most of which are taken from recent writers. The book has evidently grown out of actual experience in the class-room, and many of its suggestions are unusually acute and practical.

Mr. De Mille's book, though more pretentious, is not so satisfactory. The author shows, at the outset, an uncertain grasp of his subject by the hesitating "twofold definition" which he gives to rhetoric: "The art of persuasion, and the art of ornamental composition"—whatever that may be. His book contains a considerable body of information; but it is ill-digested, and much of it is of little value. It is a book of definitions rather than of precepts. One hundred closely-printed pages are wasted upon the figures of speech. Antimetabole, synocoesis, hypocorisma, synathroismus, epanorthosis, and fourscore more equally useless terms, Mr. De Mille has laboriously dug up from the forgotten pages of the older rhetoricians. Such an array of barbarously named tropes we have not seen marshaled in any English book since the days of old Puttenham's "Art of Poesie." But, though abundant, Mr. De Mille's definitions are seldom brief or precise. Some are vacillating and indecisive, like that quoted above. Some are tautological, as, "Energy of style may be defined as strength of expression." Some are verbose, as, "A style which exhibits conciseness without meagerness, and which is forcible and axiomatic, is called terse." Some are ungrammatical in expression, as, "The faulty use of obsolete words is where they are really obscure, etc." Some are actually incorrect, for examples, frigidity is wrongly defined, (p. 224,) and the term harmony is constantly misused for melody. Examples of a slipshod mode of expression are altogether too frequent throughout the book. We suspect that the author has violated nearly all his own rules. Take as a single case the slovenly use of the pronouns in the following sentences: "English grammar requires far more attention than it ordinarily receives. It may not be so logical as that of the classical languages, and there may be not a few points about which professed grammarians differ; yet *it* may be affirmed that this very looseness and comparative lawlessness arises from the world-wide comprehensiveness which characterizes *it*, and *it* should

incite every writer to master whatever difficulties there may be." We should have little patience with such English as this in the essays of a college Junior. A similar carelessness shows itself in occasional misquotation; as in the examples from Milton's "Ode on the Nativity" on page 272, and from one of the most familiar verses of the New Testament on page 201.

Purged of such faults as these, Mr. De Mille's book would serve a good purpose as a rhetorical dictionary; but it is hardly suited to the uses of the class-room. W.

Literature and Fiction.

The Art of Beauty. By Mrs. H. R. Haweis, Author of "Chaucer for Children." Illustrated by the Author. Large 12mo., pp. 398. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Great is the Diana of the fashionables. The author, by way of foundation, lays down the principle that the culture of beauty is a matter "of the first interest and importance," and is, therefore, the natural right of every woman.

There is, she argues, a joy in beauty of every kind, and a pain in ugliness; and the wise culture of this valuable art consists in discovering the things that are truly beautiful, and governing ourselves accordingly. She proceeds to show what dress and ornament mean, and what dress should be; discusses styles, ancient and modern, materials, and colors; condemns both corsets and shoes on esthetic as well as sanitary grounds; eulogizes sandals as the next best thing to going barefoot; defends jewelry; apologizes for the patches and hair powder of by-gone days; lays bare the mysteries of adapting the color of dresses to the complexion of the wearer, and closes with a panorama of illustrative contrasts, girls beautiful and homely, graceful and awkward, adepts in the art of beauty and novices therein. The book is written in graceful English, and is very readable. Almost any one, old or young, may learn something from it. Still, those will be best prepared to appreciate it who are not only impressed with the great importance of the subject discussed, but, like the ambitious youth who achieved the wonderful neck-tie, "give their whole minds to it."

Periodicals.

The Bishops' Address to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1878.

The Southern General Conference of 1878 forms, as we earnestly trust, a propitious epoch in the history of American Methodism. At its opening almost its entire general action was auspicated in the Address of the Bishops—a document which, by its ability and noble tone, gratified every magnanimous Northern as well as Southern reader. On the momentous questions of fraternity, negro education, and an ecumenical union of Methodism, it gave no uncertain sound, and ample was the response it received from the action of the Conference. Henceforth, and we trust forever, we are not divided on any great moral issue. We are, indeed, two independent denominations, having all the rights each of such a body; and yet ours is one theology, one original history, one set of institutions, one religious tone and temperament. Between us there are currents of sympathy not existing in the same power with any other body. We shake hands fraternally with all Christians; but, beyond all doubt, we shake hands with none in quite the same unity as with a brother Methodist.

The Conference authorized two new Conferences in the North, in the earnest and honest faith that there were Northern fields where the work could be most successfully performed by themselves. We doubt not that they will be cordially welcomed by their brethren of the Methodist Episcopal Church. There are sinners enough, and wickedness enough, in our North to render every help desirable. Let there not be war, but mutual sympathy and aid. And wherever we go into the South, it is to carry money, and churches, and schools, and colleges, in order that the waste places may be repaired, the standard of improvements be raised, prosperity—religious, civil, and economical—reconstructed, and peace and unity be conferred upon this our great nation. Blessed be the God of our fathers, that we are now enabled, by the removal of a great moral difference, to enter on our divine mission of PEACE!

We wish that we could deposit within the hearts of our Southern brethren the complete realization of the fact that we never hated them. We did hate that fatal institution which was, in truth, the common enemy of South and North. When they felt bound, as a "solid South," to enter upon its defense and maintenance, there arose first a moral issue, and then a bloody conflict.

We render earnest thanks to Almighty God that that baptism of fire and blood has past. The night is far spent, and the morning seems to dawn. Unless the ferocious spirit of our sectional political partisanships again lights the torch of civil war, that morning will culminate to a glorious noontide. We are ready to lay a wreath upon the tomb of the brave men who fell on both sides; not as approving the cause of the Southern side, but as declaring that both were brave, sincere, and brothers; and from the altars of both Churches we trust one volume of prayer will rise to the eternal throne that such fraternal blood may never again be shed.

Yet there are still shades of difference in the views of the two Churches and the two sections, which time alone can mitigate, and which we believe time is mitigating. With the assimilation of institutions the two sections will assimilate in character. The South will adopt the free school, immigration, and industrial enterprises. She will grow energetic, develop her wonderful resources, and become rich and populous. Such a nation will arise as never before existed. All this if peace, fraternity, and unity be preserved. In view of such a future, let our mutual criticisms—for mutual criticisms there still will be—lose something of their asperity, and take a more fraternal tone. There truly are times and objects, often, that require the boldest moral denunciation and anathema; when it is duty to hold up to abhorrence iniquity that refuses reform and repentance. Our fraternal declarations avow that no such requirements between us exist. And even of criticism there are two different kinds. There is a criticism which rejoices in making out and sustaining an accusation. It is even glad that the fault existed, that it may exult over the inferiority of its object. And there is a criticism which speaks only in order that a fault may be removed, and that rejoices in bringing about a beneficent change. It is often not difficult to decide to which of these two classes a given criticism belongs. Nor is it difficult to decide which of these two kinds ought to be used by the spokesmen of the two fraternal Methodisms. We Northern editors, of course, proudly think that we see a great many wrong things in the Church South; but there are a great many things to admire and love, and a great many inducements to wait with patience the sure march of progress; and there is even some slight reason to suspect that we ourselves are not as perfect as we might be. There are hearty advocates of fraternal union in both Churches, and they should understand each other.

and boldly speak and act in the cause of brotherhood and peace. As the great danger of the day is political sectionalism, so the great duty of the hour is the abolition of North and South as terms of partisanship. Our "Quarterly" belongs to neither the Republican nor Democratic party, but to the as yet invisible party of peace, brotherhood, and perpetual union.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Theologische Literaturzeitung, herausgegeben von Prof. D. E. SCHURER. Leipzig.

The first number of this able theological review contains a careful critique of Dr. Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," by Prof. G. Plitt, of Erlangen. Professor Plitt concedes the great value and the urgent need of such a work as Dr. Schaff's title would call for; and he admits the many excellences of the actual book as we have it. But he makes the following adverse points: As a whole, the work is too plethoric in some parts and too meager in others. Besides, it is of too subjective or polemical character. The author demeans himself throughout as a sectary of the Reformed Church, whereas the only appropriate attitude would be that of the simple historian, treating his material in a purely objective manner. Many of Dr. Schaff's notes are irrelevant to the matter in hand; and the historical argument might well have been greatly abridged. What propriety was there in introducing a Life of Zuinglius and Calvin? His entire first volume might have been reduced to one half its actual compass without the least loss. The Confessions of the Lutheran Church are very imperfectly given. Five times as much space might justly have been given to Lutheranism. The book of Dr. Schaff is not, therefore, satisfactory. Its plan is but imperfectly carried out.

Die Reformation in der Kölnischen Kirchenprovinz. Von G. DROUVEN. Cöln: Schwann.

A history of the incipient reformation of the Roman Church of Cologne at the time of Archbishop Hermann, written by a Catholic priest. The book is remarkable, both from the fact that it freshly replaces before the public the beautiful image of one of the most gifted and highest dignitaries of the Roman Church, freely and frankly welcoming the purer light of the reformed religion so soon as it was presented to him, and then cheerfully sacrificing all his honors and emoluments rather than act against his awakened

conscience, and also from the fact that it is of Roman Catholic authorship. For surely it required rare courage, under the recent Ultramontane terrorism, for such an author to write such a book. Priest Drouven admits frankly the most excellent gifts of Archbishop Hermann, and concedes the sincerity of his endeavors to purify the Church and to abolish many abuses. He only regrets that the archbishop did not keep within such bounds as the papal hierarchy would approve, but that he went so far as to work the forfeiture of his office. This picture of a "reformed" archbishop is very significant.

Johannes Damascenus. Von F. H. GRUNDLEHNER. Pp. 266. Utrecht: Kemink und Zoon.

An interesting sketch of the life and opinions of this great Christian thinker of early Middle Ages. Grundlehner insists, against Laudner and others, that Damascenus held a high political office at the court of the Mohammedan prince of Damascus.

Pamphlets.

Statistics of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. By W. H. DE PUY, D.D. 20 pages, 8vo. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1878.

This pamphlet consists mainly of the admirable article by Dr. De Puy in our last Quarterly. It is a tract for the times, and as such attracted much attention. So much fancy talk has lately been uttered by the contemporary periodical press, both religious and secular, about "the decline of Methodism," that it was just the moment to put upon it the fatal extinguisher of statistical facts, and this has been done with relentless hand, as nobody else could do it, by Dr. De Puy.

So far as our observation can decide, this late breeze of bruited decline took its origin from the unguarded and extreme language of the "Independent." The burden of the "Independent" was the "failure" of Methodism; and this was stated so sweepingly and continuously, that our own mind was at the time impressed with it as coming from a hostile animus. Understanding this "failure" so charged to be a "failure" of Methodism in our cities in comparison with other denominations, Rev. Mr. Atkinson, of Chicago, furnished a most valuable article, showing that such "failure" did not exist. Later explanations of the editor, however, showed that he did not mean even this. What he did mean was a "failure" in Methodism to progress as fast in city as in coun-

try. And so, conversely, if Methodism had not progressed as fast in country as in city, either way there would have been a "failure;" so that we are furnished with a very nicely fitting pair of pantaloons. It was a "failure" in Methodism to beat herself. This reminds us of a series of alphabetic lines, which we learned in our boyhood, in which it was said that "R ran a race with himself and got beat."

Without one word of "arguing," this pamphlet is one powerful argument. It is an argument for outsiders and for insiders. It bids outsiders to understand that Methodism declines to "decline." It cautions our insiders to rise into sympathy with institutions which turn out such marvelous results, and to cherish a joyous conservatism. It is an argument for unity, loyalty, and persistence.

It is curious that with such an organization in our possession, so full of success and promise, a secular paper could lately, with truth, remark that in no Church was there so much discussion of forms of government as in ours. Of the most successful of all Protestant systems every self-conscious genius supposes he is a competent reconstructor. There are among us professional artisans whose main line of thought from General Conference to General Conference is to "mend the Discipline." They are not satisfied with a discussion of modifications during a few months before each General Conference, allowing an intermediate repose period. The Church must, through the whole quadrennium, hear the monotonous click of the tinker's hammer. No wonder the weary Church votes it a nuisance.

Miscellaneous.

School History of Rome. From the Foundation of the City to the Extinction of the Empire of the West. Abridged from Dean Merivale's General History of Rome, with the Sanction of the Author. By C. PULLER, M.A. 12mo., pp. 390. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Shakspeare's History of King Henry the Fifth, Edited, with Notes. By WILLIAM J. ROLFE, A.M. 12mo., pp. 192. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Harper's Greek and Latin Texts. 18mo., New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.
Platonis Dialogi VI. Ex. Recensione. C. F. HERMANNI. Pp. 327.
M. Tullii Ciceronis Tusculanorum Disputationum Ad. Brutum. Libri Quinque, Recognovit REINHOLDUS KLOTZ. Pp. 189.

The Expositor. May, 1878. Edited by the Rev. Samuel Cox. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Church Extension Annual, including the Twelfth Annual Report of the Board of Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church. For the year 1877. 8vo., pp. 115. Church Extension Rooms. Philadelphia, Pa.

The Elevation of a Race and the Redemption of a Continent. An Address delivered before the American Colonization Society, January 15, 1878. By WILLIAM H. ALLEN, LL.D. 8vo., pp. 11. Washington Colonization Building. 1878.

The Non-Denominational Gospel Mission to the Prisoners of the Tombs of New York. By a Committee of Clergymen and Laymen. 8vo., pp. 20. New York: Printed for the Gospel Mission. 1877–78.

Sermons on the Atonement and Boptism. By Rev. THOS. J. BRYANT. 12mo., pp. 119. Printed by Geo. W. Cyrus, Camp Point, Ill. 1878.

Is There a Hell? An Inquiry and an Answer. By Rev. JOHN A. CASS, A.M. 16mo., pp. 31. Boston: D. Lathrop & Co. 1878.

The Duty of Literary Men. By T. A. GOODWIN, A.M. 12mo., pp. 16. New York: Burny & Co. 33 Park Row. 1878.

History of the English People. By JOHN RICHARD GREEN, M.A. 8vo. Vols. I and II. Pp. 1076. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Modern Dwellings in Town and Country, Adapted to American Wants and Climate, with a Treatise on Furniture and Decoration. By H. HUDSON HOLLY. With One Hundred Original Designs, comprising Cottages, Villas, and Mansions. 8vo., pp. 219. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Beauty for Ashes. By ALEXANDER DICKSON. 12mo., pp. 436. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1878.

The Prayer-meeting and its Improvement. By Rev. LEWIS O. THOMPSON. With an Introduction by Rev. A. E. Kittredge. 12mo., pp. 208. Chicago: W. J. Holmes. 1878.

The School and the Family, The Ethics of School Relations. By JOHN KENNEDY. 12mo., pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

The King in His Beauty. By Rev. RICHARD NEWTON, D.D. 12mo., pp. 347. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1878.

The Old Looking-Glass; or, Mrs. Dorothy Cope's Recollections. By MARIA LOUISA CHARLESWORTH. 12mo., pp. 269. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1878.

The Doctrinal Integrity of Methodism. By BISHOP E. M. MARVIN, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 12mo., pp. 132. St. Louis: Logan D. Dameron, Agent, Advocate Publishing House. 1878.

Cicero's Tusculan Disputations; also, Treatises on The Nature of the Gods, and on the Commonwealth. Literally translated, chiefly by C. D. YONGE. 12mo., pp. 466. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1877.

Stories from Homer. By Rev. ALFRED J. CHURCH, M.A. 12mo., pp. 275. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Green Pastures and Piccadilly. By WILLIAM BLACK. 8vo., pp. 143. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

An Open Verdict. By Miss M. E. BRADDON. 8vo., pp. 169. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Deceivers Ever. By Mrs. H. LOVETT CAMERON. 8vo., pp. 116. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Less Black than We're Painted. By JAMES PAYN. 8vo., pp. 139. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

The History of a Crime. By VICTOR HUGO. Translated by Miss FANNIE LETHBRIDGE in Collaboration with an English Translator. 8vo., pp. 79. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Esther Pennefather. By ALICE PERRY. 8vo., pp. 175. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Justine's Lovers. 8vo., pp. 135. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Harper's Half-Hour Series. 32mo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878:

Da Capo. By Miss THACKERAY. Pp. 119.

Shepherds All and Maidens Fair. By WALTER BESANT and JAMES RICE. Pp. 198.

My Lady's Money. By WILKIE COLLINS. Pp. 216.

Franklin Square Library. 4to. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878. Unbound.

Is He Popenjoy? By ANTHONY TROLLOPE. Pp. 105.

Methodist Quarterly Review.

OCTOBER, 1878.

Art. I.—MADAME DE STAËL'S "GERMANY."

The authoress of the "Allemagne" is known to the reading public chiefly by her fictions, "Delphine" and "Corinne;" but with more critical readers her reputation rests mostly on works which, though now hardly known to "common readers," produced a sensation throughout Europe three quarters of a century ago. Her essay "On Literature considered in its Relations with Social Institutions," which Sir James Mackintosh pronounced "a great work, the first attempt, on a bold and extensive scale, to define the philosophy of literature;" her "Considerations on the French Revolution," which, for its broad and profound views of civil polity, if not for its style, is worthy of the pen of Burke, and of which Villemain said that it is incredible it should have proceeded from the pen of a woman; and, above all, her "Allemagne," which Mackintosh esteemed the "most elaborate and masculine production of the faculties of woman," are the best distinctions of her rank in the intellectual world.

Alison considered her "the first of female, and second to few male authors." Jeffrey, of the "Edinburgh Review," pronounced her "the greatest of French writers since the time of Voltaire and Rousseau." Byron, who met her often in London, where the "Allemagne" was first published, read it with admiration, notwithstanding his cynical opinions of women of literary pretensions. "What the —— shall I say about the

'Germany?'" he writes. "I like it prodigiously. I read her again and again." "She is the first of female writers of this, perhaps of any age," he remarks in a note to his "Bride of Abydos." He writes to Murray: "I do not like Madame de Staël, but, depend upon it, she beats all your natives hollow as an authoress, and I would not say this if I could help it.... She is a woman by herself, and has done more than all the rest of them together, intellectually; she ought to have been a man." Vinet, the greatest of modern Swiss thinkers, devotes a whole volume (in his "Course of French Literature") to her and Chateaubriand as the two literary representatives of their epoch; and from his high theological stand-point generously appreciates her moral influence on her age. Sainte-Beuve, the best of French critics, regards her as the representative woman of the times of the Revolution and first Empire, and, like Vinet, places her by the side of Chateaubriand, the two chiefs of French literature since the period of Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau; but he admits that she was "richer in ideas than Chateaubriand." We hazard little in affirming that any one chapter of the didactic works of Madame de Staël (her treatises on the "Passions" and on "Literature," the "Germany," etc.) contains more original and profound ideas than can be gathered from all the writings of Chateaubriand. He was the superior painter, she the superior thinker. He was her only rival—"Under the Consulate and Empire rivals," says Sainte-Beuve, "but since accorded a common admiration." Chateaubriand's "Genius of Christianity" gave éclat to his name; but its importance arose principally from the coincidence of the book with a reaction of the national mind from the materialistic skepticism of the Revolution, a reaction which his book doubtless aided among a limited class, but which proceeded from antecedent causes, and was essentially a tendency of the political reaction of the period. This fortunate coincidence has rendered historical, perhaps immortal, a work, the false erudition and falser logic of which have been redeemed from critical contempt only by its surpassing rhetoric, and its art, never surpassed in the painting of natural scenes.* The *Genie du Christianism* has no longer any rank

* See Macaulay's rather too severe judgment on the *Genie*, in his Life by Trevelyan.

among Christian "apologetics." "It is," says Vinet, "too much for a simple poem, too little for an apology; the theologian and the painter mutually embarrass themselves in it; they exchange and confound their arguments." It was a plea for Christianism more than for Christianity. It aided Napoleon to restore the medieval ecclesiasticism of France, but did little for the national spiritualism, which alone can be enduring, and of which Madame de Staël was pre-eminently a representative writer. The historian, Lacretelle, who passed through all the stages of the Revolution, and was himself a representative in the academy and in literature of Christian spiritualism, says that "Madame de Staël, born in the midst of the philosophic circles of the times, but instructed by a father and a mother always faithful to their religious sentiments, and inclined, by the elevation of her soul, as well as the power of her genius, to spiritualism, was the first who made us comprehend the necessity of returning to this high philosophy." In every respect, except as a colorist, her rivalry with Chateaubriand (not to say her supremacy) may be asserted.

To all these critics the "Allemagne" was her culminating literary production. "It was," says Vinet, "an enterprise of reaction against a triple despotism, of a man in politics, a sect in philosophy, and a tradition in literature." "A book," says Lamartine, "through which she has poured, and, as it were, filtrated all the resources of her soul, of her imagination, of her religion."

The history of the "Allemagne" is extremely interesting. It was not a temporary book, to be rendered obsolete by time, as its title might seem to imply—no more so than the "Germania" of Tacitus. Every page is stamped with genius, and genius is essentially immortal. In our endeavor to trace its history we must claim the forbearance of the reader, for the task has never before been attempted, so far as we know. It will necessarily be somewhat discursive, as it must extend over much of the period of the long exile of the authoress. Its complete history would require us to accompany her in her travels in Germany, where she made her preliminary studies for it, especially at Weimar with Goëthe, Schiller, and Wieland; to restore the literary *coteries* of her *chateau* at Coppet,

on the shore of the Leman, where its pages were discussed by Sismondi, Schlegel, Barante, Bonstetten, Werner, and many other brilliant men, the best thinkers of the period; and, in fine, to reproduce much of the contemporary criticism and literary gossip, and of the correspondence that passed between Coppet, Weimar, the *salon* of Madame Recamier, of Paris, and that of the Countess of Albany (wife of Charles Edward, the British Pretender) in the Casa d'Alfieri at Florence, for these were then the intellectual centers, the literary courts, of Europe, and maintained intimate relations. A more attractive range of literary research could hardly be desired, but we are compelled to confine ourselves to some of its most salient points.

The "Allemagne" was a result, and also a further provocation, of that remarkable persecution with which Napoleon pursued its writer through her "ten years of exile," a persecution which has never had a complete parallel in literary history, and which at last afforded to the world one of the grandest examples on record of the triumph of the pen over the scepter and the sword. She had passed through all the stages of the Revolution, from its very inception. She abhorred its excesses, but never abandoned the essential principles of political reform, of popular liberty, which it promulgated, and which, in spite of its atrocities, have rendered it, in the estimation of impartial writers, the epoch of modern history; unless, indeed, we must assume as that epoch the great event which initiated it—the North American Revolution. Though she always insisted that she had no "animal courage," she had superlative moral courage, and faced bravely the worst horrors of the revolutionary terrorism to save her friends, and in some instances her enemies, from the guillotine. She was dragged through the jeering mobs of the streets of Paris to the tribunal of Robespierre, passed into the Hotel de Ville under an arch of pikes, was struck at on the stairs by one of the mob, and saved from death only by the sword of the *gendarme* who conducted her and averted the blow. She thus came near being the first female victim of the Revolution. On the next day the beautiful Princess de Lamballe became its first feminine sacrifice, amid bloody orgies, which history has hardly dared to record—hewed into pieces, one of her limbs shot from a cannon, and

her heart and head borne on the points of sabers through the streets in what has been called "an infernal march." Fleeing to her Swiss home at Coppet, Madame de Staël made her *chateau* an asylum for the proscribed. It was crowded with refugees for some years. No man or woman rescued a greater number of such sufferers. No one was more eminently the heroine of the Revolution than she, not excepting Madame Roland. But on coming out of its terrors she affirmed, down to her last hour, the genuine rights of the people, which it had so much abused. When almost every conspicuous character remaining in France had compromised with the usurpations of Napoleon, she was still loyal to liberty. When even her most intimate associates, political as well as literary—Benjamin Constant, Sismondi, Lacretelle, Barante, Chateaubriand—had fallen away, she and her friend Lafayette still stood erect for republicanism, and stood almost alone. Liberty, she wrote to General Moreau, must always be the noblest idea and force of great souls. We must never disparage it on account of its abuses; if we abandon it we give up the hope of the world.

She would not, because she could not consistently with the instincts of her superb genius and her generous heart, compromise with Napoleon. At first she shared the universal enthusiasm of France for the young conqueror of Italy. He professed entire loyalty to the republic. She hailed him as the restorer of order and the protector of freedom. But in conversations with him she detected, as by the intuition of her genius, his ulterior designs. He perceived that he was detected. He tried to win her. Through his brothers, Joseph and Lucien, he made her tempting offers. He proposed even to pay her the debt of the Government for two millions loaned by her father, an honest debt formally acknowledged by the Government, but which he afterward refused to pay, and which she recovered only after his downfall. It was a splendid opportunity for her and her sons; but she never wavered. She could not sacrifice her political principles, for with her they were moral convictions. She chose rather to wander, a proscribed exile, over Europe through all the years of the imperial reign. Napoleon came to fear this solitary woman of genius more than any royal antagonist on the Continent. He could appreciate her wonderful intellectual power, though on the

island of St. Helena he maliciously attempted to depreciate it; but even there he acknowledged to Las Cases that "she will last." For years he persisted in attempts to conciliate, that is to say, bribe her. His brother Joseph (her cordial friend) was repeatedly used for this purpose; the French prefects at Geneva, instructed by the Minister of Police, frequented Coppet to importune her to recognize him in her writings—to say something, "in the style of Corinne," for him, or for the infant king of Rome; she was assured it would end her exile and restore the fortunes of her family. She said nothing against him in her writings, (nothing directly hostile, at least,) but she would say nothing for him. To have favored him would have been, in her opinion, recreance not only to France, but to the human race.

But though she wrote nothing against him, the tacit opposition of such a character was an insufferable grievance to his egotism; and then she was the most eloquent talker in France, and her *salon*, at Coppet or in Paris, was a social and political center, where gathered not only all the higher elements of the opposition, but the best minds of Paris and the leading diplomatists of Europe. "No one enters her *salon*," said Napoleon, "who does not leave it my opponent." "Coppet is an arsenal furnishing arms against me to all Europe." He could hardly have paid her a higher compliment. She was, in fact, the oracle of the opposition; and her friend, Benjamin Constant, one of the most effective publicists of the day, was her representative in the Legislature. At her instance he delivered a speech against the monarchical designs of Napoleon. The evening before he whispered in her ear, "You see your *salon* crowded; if I speak to-morrow it will be deserted. Think again." "It is necessary to follow our convictions," was her only reply. On the next evening, which had been appointed for a special gathering, all her usual guests were absent. They sent apologies, and recoiled before the rising power of the First Consul. Fouché, the head of police, went to her and advised her to "retire into the country, and in a few days all would be appeased." "But on my return," she says, "I found it quite otherwise." She knew, however, that an invincible power remained in her otherwise feeble woman's hand—the pen. She resolved to vindicate by it her claims to social and

public recognition. In this time of desertion and of the worst chagrins that a woman can suffer, she composed her essay on "Literature." It produced an immediate and surprising impression. No woman had ever attempted so elaborate a literary work. "Its success," she says, "entirely restored my position in society; my *salon* was again filled." Without a word for or against Napoleon, it was a plea for liberty as the best basis of literature and all social ameliorations of the human race. It asserts the doctrine of the perfectibility of the race. "I adopt this doctrine," she says in her introduction, "with all my faculties. It is the conservative, the redeeming hope of the intellectual world." It was Vico's theory of the philosophy of history better applied; he applied it to monarchy, she to republicanism. Her social triumph was complete; her *salon* was again thronged by the best Parisian society, and the diplomatic representatives of Europe; even Napoleon's brothers, Joseph and Lucien, could not be kept away. Napoleon could never forgive her; she had struck at all his hidden designs. He waited and watched for his opportunity of revenge.

Necker, her father, not long afterward published his "Last Views of Politics and Finance." She was with him, at Coppet, at the time, and Napoleon falsely attributed it to her. Necker wished him to be a Washington for France. This would never do. He sent an order to him to let politics alone, and threatened his daughter with banishment.

She subsequently ventured furtively back toward the capital, and hired a house ten leagues from it. Her friends flocked to her. Napoleon was told that she was holding court there, and seized the occasion as a pretext for exiling her. She was informed that a *gendarme* would soon take charge of her and her children. He tortured her with delays. Unable to bear this painful suspense, she recalled, with hope, the image of a friend, the loveliest woman in soul as well as in person then in Europe, of whom the good Duke of Montmorency had said that he "loved her as an angel on earth,"—one whose transcendent beauty produced a sensation in the streets wherever she passed, converged upon her the gaze of public assemblies even when Napoleon himself was speaking, and was excelled only by the grace of her manners and the purity of

her heart—a woman who subdued the jealousy of women as well as the passion of men, "invincibly protected by the aureole of virtue which always surrounded her;" whose "presence anywhere was an event, and produced a tumult of admiration, of curiosity, of enthusiasm;" even the common people in public places calling upon her with shouts to rise, that they might pay their homage to beauty in her person; who, when it was known that she was to be a collector for a public charity at St. Roche, found it impossible to make her way, without assistance, through the throng that crowded the aisles, stood upon chairs, hung upon the pillars, mounted even the altars of the side chapels, and gave twenty thousand francs, more for the sight of her than for the sacred design of the occasion; who enchanted all men that beheld her, yet by her moral fascination compelled them to abandon lower hopes for her coveted esteem and her self-respectful friendship; who declined the proffered hearts of princes, and even the possibility of a throne, that she might maintain the obligations of a marriage of "convenience," made when she was but fifteen years old with a man who was forty-two; and who, when her opulent fortune was lost, and after the restoration had re-established the factitious distinctions of society, and even in old age and blindness, could still hold spellbound around her the *élite* society of Paris. "She was," says her niece and biographer, who knew her most intimate life, "devoted, sympathetic, indulgent, self-respectful. You found with her consolation, strength, balm for suffering, guidance in the great resolutions of life; she had a passion for goodness." She was, says another authority, "an incomparable being in all respects. Her charming qualities had something so peculiar that they can never be perfectly described. Only scattered traits of her supreme grace can be given." Napoleon himself was smitten by her charms, and, through Fouché, persecuted her with his importunities to induce her to become a lady of his court, ("*dame de palais,*") but she disliked the man, and declined the brilliant offer. He seized the first opportunity of involving her in the exile of Madame de Staël, compelling her to leave her family and the charmed circle of her innumerable Parisian friends, and wander obscurely in the southern provinces and Italy for years. It was a remarkable coincidence that in these

degenerate times two women, one the most beautiful, the other the most intellectual, in modern history should appear in the same country, and should be united in an inseparable sisterhood. Through all the remainder of Madame de Staël's life Madame Recamier was her most intimate feminine friend, and consoled her in her last hours.

She now found shelter under her friend's roof at Saint-Brice. But the *gendarme* reached her at last, bringing an order, signed by Napoleon, and requiring her to depart within twenty-four hours. After harassing trials she escaped to Germany, and thus did her great enemy open the way for the production of her greatest literary monument, the "Allemagne," the work which, by a striking coincidence, was to crown her fame in the very year in which the crown was to fall from his head. We are tempted to follow her in its preparatory studies there, but our limits forbid. She observed with the eyes, the insight, of genius every aspect of German life and literature. At Weimar she learned the German language, and astonished and perplexed Goethe and Schiller by her transcendent conversation, and her virile intellect, so strongly contrasted with the vivacity, the *abandon*, of her womanly heart, for the real problem of her character was the fact that in her were combined the intellect of man with the heart of woman. She remained three months in the little literary court of Weimar, and the grand duchess, Louise, became her life-long correspondent. She traveled over much of Germany, and studied well its higher life in the court of Berlin, where she was received with much distinction. An important event in her life was the friendship she formed in the Prussian capital with Augustus Schlegel, the greatest of living critics, who thenceforward was a member of her household down to the year of her death.

The death of Necker recalled her, heart-broken, to Coppet. Her health gave way. Proscribed in France, she sought relief in Italy, accompanied by her children, Schlegel, and, part of the time, by Sismondi. Genius alone knows the philosopher's stone that turns every thing to gold. Her travels in Italy produced "Corinne." On her return she ventured again clandestinely to within some leagues of Paris, to publish it. The prefect of the *Seine-Inferieur* was afterward dismissed for treating her with courtesy. But her intellect was again to

triumph. Suddenly there broke in upon her almost utter solitude the burst of enthusiasm with which Europe hailed the appearance of "Corinne." "It was one of the greatest events of the epoch," says Vinet. "It carried all suffrages," says the "Biographie Universelle." "There was but one voice, one cry of admiration in lettered Europe, at its appearance," says her cousin, Madame Necker de Saussure. Napoleon, whose egotism was as petulant as his ambition was great, was mortified by this success. The official journals attacked the book. Villemain says that Napoleon himself wrote the hostile criticism of the "Moniteur." But neither his scepter nor his pen could touch the indefeasible honors of her genius. She stood out before all Europe crowned, like her own "Corinne" on the capital of the world. But he could still annoy and oppress her, and he now resumed his persecutions of not only herself, but of her dearest friends, with incredible minuteness, cruelty, and perseverance. He renewed her exile. She went to Coppet, where a court of the best minds of Europe gathered about her; and then again to Germany, to resume her preparations for the "Allemagne;" to Weimar, to Berlin, to Vienna, accompanied by Schlegel, Sismondi, and Constant. Her progress was an ovation. But the Germans hardly knew what to think of her. With their views of woman, so different from those which Tacitus attributed to their ancestors, they were disposed at first to wonder at her, then to be equivocally sarcastic, but at last to both wonder and admire. They could never, however, entirely surmount their first opinion, that there must be something inadmissible in such high intellectual claims on the part of a woman, and she a French woman. Her books, indeed, surprised them, and her conversation fairly dazzled their slower wits; but she was so subtle, so oracular! The Pythia might belong to classic Greece, but could not come out of France.

The American scholar, George Ticknor, met at Berlin some thirty years later the old Prime-minister, Ancillon, who told him a characteristic anecdote of her visit to that city. He said:—

> When she was here she excited a great sensation, and had the men of letters trotted up and down, as it were, before her successively, to see their faces. I was present when Fichte's turn came.

After talking a little while she said, "Now, Monsieur Fichte, will you be so kind as to give me, in fifteen minutes or so, a sort of idea, or *aperen*, of your system, so that I may know clearly what you mean by your *ich*, (I,) your *moi*, (me,) for I am entirely in the dark about it?" The notion of explaining in a little quarter of an hour, to a person in total darkness, a system which he had been all his lifetime in developing from a single principle within himself, and spinning, as it were, from his own bowels, till its web embraced the whole universe, was quite shocking to the philosopher's dignity. However, being much pressed, he began, in rather bad French, to do the best he could. But he had not gone on more than ten minutes before Madame de Staël, who had followed him with the greatest attention, interrupted him with a countenance full of eagerness and satisfaction: "Ah! it is sufficient—I comprehend—I comprehend you perfectly, Monsieur Fichte: your system is perfectly illustrated by a story in Baron Munchausen's travels." Fichte looked like a tragedy; the faces of the rest of the company like a *comedie larmoyante*. Madame de Staël heeded neither, but went on: "For, when he arrived once on the banks of a vast river, where there was neither bridge nor ferry, nor even a poor boat or raft, he was at first quite confounded, quite in despair, until, at last, his wits coming to his assistance, he took a good hold of his own sleeve, and jumped himself over to the other side. Now, Monsieur Fitche, this, I take it, is just what you have done with your *ich*, your *moi*, is it not?" There was so much truth in this, and so much *esprit*, that, of course, the effect was irresistible on all but poor Fichte himself. As for him, he never forgave Madame de Staël, who certainly, however, had no malicious purpose of offending him, and who, in fact, praised him and his *ich* most abundantly in her *De l'Allemagne*.

In June, 1808, she was again at Coppet, working on "Allemagne." Baron von Vogt, a man of intellect, was there assisting her by his conversations; Sismondi was there, preparing the fifth volume of his *Italian Republics;* Schlegel was there, busy in the preparation of his Lectures on "Dramatic Art" for publication at Heidelberg; Constant was there, preparing his "Wallenstein" for the press. Matthieu de Montmoreney spent some time at the *chateau*, where no man was more welcome. Etienne Dumont, the associate of Mirabeau, (some of whose best speeches he composed,) afterward the friend and editor of Jeremy Bentham, was there, casually at least. Madame Recamier cheered her friend by frequent letters, and by the promise of a visit and of her company in another journey to Vienna. Letters passed often between Weimar and Coppet; the Duchess Louise, esteemed, since the

battle of Jena, with Napoleon's own acknowledgment, as one of the great characters of the times, kept up her correspondence with the authoress, and the marble bust of the latter, by Tieck, was honored with a place in the palace of Weimar. The *Allemagne* was under incessant discussion in the conversations and correspondence of the *chateau*. Three years (1808, 1809, and 1810) were devoted to its composition, six years in all to its preparation. Sismondi, writing to the Countess of Albany, (September 6, 1809,) says: "She has completed about a quarter of the work; but that which is written appears to me superior to any thing that we have yet had from her pen. It is not like 'Corinne,' the frame of a romance in which observations on national character are presented; she treats directly her subject, and handles it with a force that no one would expect in a woman. There is a truly admirable depth in its judgments of national traits, in its intellectual pictures, etc." "Nothing so new, so impartial, and so penetrating has yet been written, I think, on the character of any nation. This, doubtless, will be her best work," wrote Baron von Vogt to Madame Recamier.

When it was completed she again entered France to publish it, but kept at the prescribed distance of forty leagues from the capital. She obtained the necessary authorization of the censorship after the elimination of a few sentences, and of the eloquent concluding chapters on Enthusiasm. Her preference of Goethe's "Iphigenia" over that of Racine had to be qualified, and, among other suppressions, was that of a passage in which she described Germany, deprived of liberty, as a temple which fails of columns and roof. When it was printed, Napoleon changed his mind; the French had conquered Germany, but he was not mentioned in the book. The ten thousand printed copies were cut into pieces, and converted into pasteboard. She was ordered to leave France immediately. A hint was given her, by the Minister of Police, of imprisonment in Vincennes, where the Duc d'Enghien had been murdered by her persecutor. "Ah, my God!" she wrote to Madame Recamier, "I am the Orestes of Exile, and fate pursues me!" She was in despair, but was inflexible. The police demanded her manuscript: they wished to destroy the book utterly; but her son escaped with the precious original, and an imperfect copy was given them. She took refuge again in her *chateau* at Coppet, and dreary

months of anxiety were spent there, though she was soon surrounded by faithful friends, the *élite* minds of the age. All Europe, except Russia, was now controlled by Napoleon. His Swiss *gendarmes* demanded again her manuscript, but she would not surrender it. Her sons, as well as herself, were not allowed to re-enter France. Her home was under the surveillance of police spies. She was not permitted to travel, even in Switzerland, except between Coppet and Geneva. Schlegel was torn from her household and exiled; the Duke of Montmorency visited her, and was exiled; Madame Recamier, who, against her remonstrances, spent a night under her roof on her way to the baths of Aix, was exiled, and could never again return to Paris till the downfall of the tyrant.

We willingly record these painful details; they can be tedious to no man of letters, to no woman of heart. With similar facts before, and worse ones afterward, for which we have not room, they present a spectacle for the contemplation of the intellectual world—of, at least, all students of human nature: the little, great man of empire pursuing, with minutest inhumanity and egotism, a helpless woman of genius—helpless, yet greatest of her age, if not of any age. Great enough to conquer Europe, this man was not great enough to conquer himself. He was conquered by his own pettiest passions; and the truest function of history regarding him is to hold him forth before all eyes with the admonitory lesson that there is no real greatness of genius without the moral greatness of the heart.* After breaking down the whole political fabric of the continent for his own glory and that of his family; after sacrificing millions of French and other lives to his selfish ambition, he was to be cast out of Europe as an unendurable political nuisance; his restored dynasty was again to corrupt France till it should dissolve in official rottenness, and the bravest, most brilliant nation of modern times be over-run by foreign troops, and trodden in the dust with a humiliation unparalleled in the history of nations. The bewildered world still cries "Hosanna!" to the memory of Napoleon; but in the coming ages of better light and juster sentiments, when the glory of war shall be rightly estimated as

* "When Bonaparte insisted that the heart is one of the entrails, that it is the pit of the stomach that moves the world—do we thank him for the gracious instruction? Our disgust is the protest of human nature against a lie."—*Emerson.*

barbarism, which shall stand out worthiest and brightest in the recognition of mankind, the genius of the great military tyrant or that of the great suffering writer? Which alternative will enlightened France then choose for her homage, her greatest man of blood or her greatest woman of intellect? There are men who will brush aside such reflections as merely rhetorical, but destiny itself will reinstate them. Alluding to her sufferings Madame de Staël says: "It may, perhaps, excite astonishment that I compare exile to death, but great men of antiquity and of modern times have sunk under it. Many a man has confronted the scaffold with more courage than he has been able to command in the loss of his country. In all codes of law perpetual banishment has been considered as one of the severest penalties; but here the caprice of one man inflicts, in a kind of sport, what conscientious judges have pronounced with regret on criminals." But her wrongs were yet to be adjudicated by "conscientious judges?" The conscience of the world is always right in its ultimate judgments, and wisdom and virtue have only need to wait. Says Emerson:—

> Culture alters the political *status* of an individual. It raises a rival royalty in a monarchy. It is king against king. It is ever the romance of history in all dynasties. It creates a personal independence which the monarch cannot look down, and to which he must often succumb. The history of Greece is at one time reduced to two persons, Philip, or the successor of Philip on one side, and Demosthenes, a private citizen, on the other. Kings feel that this is what they themselves represent. This is no red-kerchiefed, red-shirted rebellion, but royalty—Kingship. This is real kingship, and theirs only titular. Literary history and all history is a record of the power of minorities and of minorities of one.

Ever since the epoch of the Revolution France has been reeling between the alternatives of the personal government, exemplified by Bonaparte, and the constitutional liberty for which her greatest authoress pleaded and suffered. Destiny will infallibly decide at last for the latter; no other final decision is possible under the moral laws of the universe.

Madame de Staël dreaded imprisonment with a morbid terror. It might be for life. She would flee, but whither? She would escape to England or America, and had invested funds in the latter for the purpose; but Napoleon controlled all the ports, except those of Russia, and he was about to invade that country.

Taking with her the "Allemagne," she left secretly, with her children and her second husband, Rocca. Schlegel joined them at Berne, and they hastened through Germany, through Austria, through Poland. Rocca disguised himself as a French courier, for, though he had resigned as a French officer, and was disabled by his honorable wounds, Napoleon tried to tear him from her by reclaiming him for the army. Descriptions of his person were distributed along their route. They read placards at the police stations every-where for their detection or obstruction. The events of their flight were, indeed, thrilling, but we cannot delay for them. Fleeing before the nearly half-million hosts of the conqueror, they at last enter Russia with thankful hearts; but the French army is between them and St. Petersburgh; they hasten to Moscow, but the invaders march thitherward—to their doom, indeed—but the exiles could not have anticipated that doom. They flee again, and by a wide detour reach the northern capital, where the Emperor Alexander receives them gladly. They reach the capital of Sweden, and are sheltered by her faithful friend, Bernadotte, the ally of the Czar. They at last reach London and are safe, and the "Allemagne" is saved to the intellectual world forever.

England knows little or nothing yet of the proscribed book, but the genius of its author is known there by her other works; she is recognized as the supreme woman in literature, and her persecutions by Napoleon command enthusiastic sympathy. She is immediately the idol of its best circles; and such is the eagerness to see her that "the ordinary restraints of high society," we are told, are quite disregarded; at the houses of cabinet ministers the first ladies of the kingdom mount chairs and tables to catch a glimpse of her. She dines daily with statesmen, authors, and artists, at the tables of Lords Landsdowne, Holland, Grey, Jersey, Harrowby, and surpasses all by her splendid conversation, not excepting Sheridan, Mackintosh, Erskine, and Byron.

The interest excited by her brilliant social qualities, her literary fame, and her persecutions, was suddenly and immeasurably enhanced by the publication of her "Germany," in London, in the autumn of 1813. It proved to the sober, practical English mind that the dazzling talker was also a profound thinker. No work from a feminine hand had ever

equaled it in masculine vigor and depth of thought, as well as of sentiment.

We have seen how the precious manuscript escaped the hands of the Government at Paris by the forethought of her son, and afterward by her own evasion of the police at Coppet. Secretly carried through all her flight over Germany, Poland, Russia, the Baltic Sea, and Sweden, it was now secured to the world by the press of England, and all intelligent Frenchmen have ever since been proud of it as one of the monuments of their national literature. In her preface she told the British public the story of its misfortunes, inserting the insulting letter of the Duke de Rovigo, the Minister of Police, ordering her out of France. "At the moment," she said, "when this work was about to appear, and when ten thousand copies had already been printed, the Minister of Police, known by the name of General Savary, sent his *gendarmes* to the publisher, with orders to cut in pieces the whole edition. Sentinels were stationed at the different issues of the building, to prevent the escape of a single copy of so dangerous a book. A commissioner of police was charged to superintend this expedition. General Savary obtained an easy victory, but the poor commissioner died, I am told, from his anxious labors to make sure, in detail, of the destruction of so many volumes, or, rather, of their transformation into pasteboard, perfectly white, upon which no trace of human reason should remain. The intrinsic value of this card-paper, estimated at twenty *louis*, was the only indemnity that the publisher obtained from the minister. At the moment my book was destroyed at Paris, I received an order, in the country, to surrender the copy from which it had been printed, and to leave France in twenty-four hours." Such a statement could not but excite the wonder of England. Such a petty, persecuting policy on the part of Napoleon was inconceivable to the British mind, accustomed to the utmost liberty of thought and speech, and almost as unrestricted liberty of the press. The incredible history of the work now gave it incredible success.

She appended to her preface a brief outline of its design and plan. "I had thought," she said, "that it would be beneficial to make known the country of Europe where study and meditation have been carried so far that we may consider it the

land of thought. The reflections which the country and its books have suggested to me may be divided into four sections. The first will treat of Germany and the Manners of the Germans: the second of Literature and Art; the third of Philosophy and Morals; the fourth of Religion and Enthusiasm."

The "Allemagne" could not, like "Delphine" and "Corinne," appeal to popular readers, the readers of "light literature," but it commanded immediately and universally the interest of the enlightened classes. We have noticed how Byron admired it in spite of his cynical dislike of her conversation and her person. Mackintosh immediately reviewed it in the "Edinburgh Quarterly." "The voice of Europe," he said, "has already applauded the genius of a national painter in the author of 'Corinne.' But it was there aided by the power of a pathetic fiction, by the vanity and opposition of national character, and by the charm of a country which unites beauty to renown. In the work before us she has thrown off the aid of fiction. She delineates a less poetical character, and a country more interesting by expectation than by recollection. But it is not the less certain that it is the most vigorous effort of her genius, and probably the most elaborate and masculine production of the faculties of woman." The chapters which treat of society and conversation, he remarks, are the most perfect, and "exhibit an unparalleled union of graceful vivacity with philosophical ingenuity." The chapter on Taste, he says, is "exquisite," "balancing with a skillful and impartial hand the literary opinions of nations." The third part, which treats of Metaphysical Systems, is, he adds, "a novelty in the history of the human mind, and, whatever may be thought of its success in some of the parts, must be regarded on the whole as the boldest effort of the female intellect." The concluding portion of the work, on Enthusiasm, he pronounces the most eloquent, "if we except the incomparable chapter on Conjugal Love." "Thus," he says, after a long citation, "terminates a work which, for variety of knowledge, flexibility of power, elevation of view, and comprehension of mind, is unequaled among the works of women, and which, in the union of the graces of society and literature with the genius of philosophy, is not surpassed by many among those of men."

The London edition was issued by Murray in three volumes,

12mo. In the following year it was reproduced in Paris and Geneva, and in an Italian version at Milan. In the next year another edition appeared in Paris, in four volumes, 12mo, and in three volumes, 8vo. In less than two years later a revised edition was issued in Paris in two volumes, 8vo. Editions and translations followed in all the principal tongues of Europe.

So imposing a work could not fail to provoke criticism, and, besides innumerable "periodical" reviews, no less than six publications, discussing its merits and demerits, appeared in less than a year in the German, French, and English languages from the presses of Heidelberg, Hanover, Bremen, Paris, London, and Edinburgh.

It is from the stand-point of the romantic school that Madame de Staël considers Germany. The two Schlegels, Ludwig Zieck, Goerres, Brentano, Arnim, Kleist, were then the representatives of that school, and Goëthe was hailed as their chieftain, though the universality of his genius rendered him superior to the limitations of any literary sect. These writers endeavored to be national by reproducing exclusively the spirit of the elder German literature and legends—the idiosyncrasies of the northern mind. They succeeded to some extent, in spite of the claims of culture on all the possibilities of literature and art. Madame de Staël wrote under their inspiration, and thereby painted a more genuine picture of intellectual and social Germany than she could otherwise have produced. An able German critic remarks that it is important her readers should bear in mind this stand-point of her "remarkable work." She took it spontaneously, though influenced by her favorite German authors; her previous work on "Literature" showed her predilections for the romantic school; it is pervaded by the ideas of that school, and she was among the first of its founders in France. She gives in the "Allemagne" a fine chapter, discriminating the two schools. She says:—

> The songs of the Troubadours, born of chivalry and Christianity, originated in the poetry of the romantic school. If we do not admit that paganism and Christianity, the north and the south, antiquity and the Middle Ages, chivalry and the Greek and Roman institutions, divide the empire of literature, we shall never be able to judge, from a philosophic stand-point, ancient and modern taste. Classic poetry is simple and salient, like exterior objects;

Christian poetry has need of all the colors of the rainbow. But the question for us is not between the classic and romantic poetry, but between the imitation of the one and the inspiration of the other. The literature of the ancients is with the moderns a literature transplanted; the romantic literature is with us indigenous; it is the product of our religion and our institutions.

The fact that she was the principal founder of the romantic school in French literature shows the silent energy of her genius. Romanticism is legitimate in its own sphere. Its chief fault was its exclusiveness, for the capabilities of art are as manifold as the needs of culture. While vindicating the romantic school, Madame de Staël did not exclude classicism. The partisan spirit provoked by its theorists was irrelevant. Leminier remarks that "one party repeated, with Madame de Staël and the Schlegels, that romanticism came forth from Christianity and chivalry; another, with some English critics and poets, that its origin was in Saxon and Norman traditions. There were still others, more refined, more metaphysical, who saw in romanticism the expression of the most profound sentiments of the soul, and an indefinable idea. There was a resonant shock of systems and theories." Romanticism, which produced, besides Madame de Staël, such writers as Chateaubriand and Lamartine, and has culminated in our day in the splendid genius of Victor Hugo, has enriched the literature of the modern without impairing the literary claims of the ancient world. Leminier affirms a truth, though not without a spice of malice, when he says that "Hugo, wishing to establish his title as chief of the romantic school, its Aristotle, has appropriated the ideas long since put in circulation by Madame de Staël, the Schlegels, Sismondi, and Benjamin Constant, and thrust them to an extreme." The romantic school has seen the end of its day as an exclusive sect; it will never see the end of its day as a legitimate and brilliant school by the side of classicism. It is as legitimate there as the Gothic architecture is by the side of the Greek.

Considered as the initiative of foreign criticism on German literature, Sainte-Beuve esteems the "Allemagne" a work which "no other person could have produced at that period." Madame de Staël was the first writer who effectively disclosed not only to France, but to Europe generally, the rich mines of

the German intellect. She was the first of French writers to vindicate Shakspeare against the prejudices of Voltaire. Villemain says:—

The unity of such a work is in the soul of the author, in the spirit, the *verve*, continuous, yet ever varied, with which she treats of so many and such diverse topics. We admire the penetrating glance which it casts on all the literature of a nation, its profound intelligence, the vivid sensibility which gives to the analysis all the interest of passion and all the novelty of inspiration. The poetry of the north, with what vivacity Madame de Staël reproduces and interprets it! . . . This book, this enthusiasm of literary independence, this apotheosis of duty, this ardor of spiritualism, were in reality an indirect and continual protestation against the system of government which then dominated France. . . . The work of Madame de Staël, all animated with a sort of moral independence, breathing hatred of personal interest, enthusiasm for noble sacrifice, for liberty, the liberty of the soul subjected to the single law of duty, shocked the political maxims of the conqueror. The passion which reigns in the book, and which animates it with a single spirit in all the diversity of its subjects and forms—it is moral sentiment.

Lamartine speaks of the "Allemagne" with all his poetic ardor. We have seen in part his opinion. He adds:—

Appearing about the same time in England and France, it became the subject of the conversation of Europe. Her style, without losing any of its youthful vigor and splendor, seemed now to be illuminated with lights more high and eternal, as she approached the evening of life and the diviner mysteries of thought. This style paints no more, it chants no more, it adores. One respires the incense of a soul over its pages. It is "Corinne" become a priestess, and seeing from the border of life the unknown God beyond the horizons of humanity.

Vinet says:—

Its appreciations of authors and of works are spirited and delicate, and show rare penetration; its analyses are full of movement and life, and the cited passages are translated with great talent. Respect for genius and the sentiment of the beautiful illuminate every step of the writer. French prejudice nowhere makes her misapprehend true beauties; nor does her enthusiasm, or docility, or contempt for mere novelty, ever lead her, as so many others, to mistake a deformed idol for a divinity.

Vinet, like Sainte-Beuve, claims for the work a high moral and political purport. He says:—

It was one of those life-boats which, in the stress of the storm, is employed courageously for the salvation of a ship in distress.

The ship was France, all the liberties of which were, in the opinion of Madame de Staël, perishing at the time. Persuaded that the nations are called to help one another, she went this time to demand from Germany, humiliated and conquered Germany, the salvation of France. There is more of patriotism than of national egotism in the work.... It inaugurated in literature a new era. For good or for evil its influence was capital. It put an end to the isolation of two great neighboring nations. It revealed for the first time Germany to France. All Germany does not appreciate this fact; but hear what Goethe wrote in his old age: "This book," he said, "ought to be considered as a powerful engine which made a wide breach in the Chinese wall of antiquated prejudice which divided the two countries; so that beyond the Rhine, and afterward beyond the channel, we became better known—a fact that could not fail to procure for us a great influence over all western Europe." Vinet thinks that the "Allemagne" marks the point of maturity of thought and of talent in Madame de Staël; that in style it is the richest, and in moral sentiment the most advanced, of all her works. "It is in the 'Allemagne,' if I am not deceived, and particularly in its last part, that she shows herself, above all, a poet." In approaching the regions of supreme truth, and, by consequence, of repose, she has felt commence in her soul that harmonious concert of sensibility and imagination which is properly poetry. Without making use, as in "Corinne," of poetical phraseology, without deviating from the movement of prose, she sings, perhaps for the first time.

The "Allemagne," as Goethe admits, breached the wall that had barricaded the German literature. It did so for England as well as for France, and finally for the whole exterior intellectual world. Some twenty years earlier Scott, influenced chiefly by Lewis, (author of the "Monk," and a thorough German scholar,) had given intimations of the wealth of German thought, and made some translations from Burger, and, later, from Goethe, but lost money by their publication. Thirteen years before the appearance of the "Allemagne" Coleridge published his translation of Schiller's "Wallenstein," and began to talk German philosophy among his friends; but Englishmen continued to think the language inexorable, if not barbarous, and the originality of the German mind fantastic, and incompatible with British "common sense." The "Allemagne" dispelled this prejudice, and, revealing the abundant treasures of German genius and learning, opened the way for that influx of German thought which, principally by the subsequent labors of Coleridge and Carlyle, has, for good or evil,

been flooding the English mind, and transforming English scholarship, criticism, and speculation.

It was its author's good fortune to write it at a time when the German intellect was at its zenith, culminating in Goethe, and illustrated by a splendid array of other lights—by Klopstock, Schiller, Wieland, Winkleman, Lessing, Herder, Tieck, Richter, the Schlegels, Werner, Wolf, Jacobi, Kant, Fichte, Schelling,* and almost innumerable others, most of them still living when she last visited Germany. The enduring products of the German mind have since multiplied vastly in every department, but its splendor at the epoch of the "Allemagne" has never been surpassed, and probably never can be. Yet the book has, by the course of time alone, become deficient, but not obsolete, and never can be, as a survey of German life and literature. It abounds also in special faults; its critical estimates are sometimes inadequate, at others exaggerated. But works of genius, as we have affirmed, are essentially immortal. It is the distinction of genius that it imparts somewhat of its own personality to its productions. "Style is the man;" and style, of both thought and expression—the individuality of the artist—is the everlasting charm of classic works. The touch of genius thus gives enduring life to even obsolete facts. It is like the word of the prophet in the "valley of vision;" the dry bones rise up at its bidding, embodied and embattled. The fragments of the Parthenon sculptures are precious, not because of their mythologic fictions, but because, in their very ruins, they still glow with the genius of Phidias. The "Allemagne" is imbued with the richest genius of its author, with exalted sentiment, with profound thought, with grand moral truth, with the eloquence of style, with the power, the essence, of a great soul. There is scarcely a page of it which does not present something that the world can never willingly let die. As a monument of intellect, especially of a woman's intellect, it is classic and immortal.

It would betray an unpardonable lack of sensibility were we to feel no profounder sentiment than mere satisfaction with

* Hegel, whose later influence on German thought was so important, is not mentioned by her, though he began his first lectures at Jena, near Weimar, in 1801, two years before her arrival in Weimar, and published his work on Schelling in the same year, and his Phenomenology of the Soul in 1807.

this signal literary triumph. In its peculiar circumstances it is a spectacle for generous, for enthusiastic, admiration. It is a vindication of the supremacy of the human intellect, of that sovereignty of mind which, from the prisons of Boethius, Tasso, Cervantes, and Bunyan, from the exile of Dante and Spinoza, and from the humiliation of the old age and poverty of Milton have sent forth through all the world and all time proofs, if not of the invulnerability, yet of the invincibility, of genius, irradiating their names with honor when the sword or the scepter which oppressed them has sunk into oblivion or ignominy. Throughout her prolonged sufferings the intellect of this persecuted woman has been ever in the ascendant. Its every new production has been superior to its preceding one. The victory of the pen over the scepter is now, in her case, incontestable. "Corinne" is crowned anew in the land of constitutional liberty with laurels gathered in "the land of thought." Meanwhile the crown is falling from the brow of her heartless persecutor. She had fled over Europe, with her proscribed manuscript, before his armed hosts. He knew that she was fleeing in his front, as we have seen by his attempts to embarrass her flight, and to seize Rocca. His hosts have been rolled back in disastrous overthrow from the ruins of the ancient capital of the land which then gave her shelter, leaving in their retreat more than 250,000 dead men, victims of the sword or the climate. His unparalleled energies rallied again, and he triumphed at Lutzen, at Bautzen, at Dresden. But in the very month in which the "Allemagne" issued from the London press was fought the great "battle of the nations," as it has been called. Germany, united, rose with overwhelming resentment, and, on the battle-field of Leipsic, broke forever the domination of the tyrant. The "Edinburgh Quarterly" appeared, with Mackintosh's superb review of the "Allemagne," amid the acclamations of England over the great victory—the resurrection of the people, whose intellectual claims it had vindicated. In less than six months Napoleon abdicated, and the authoress, now the most distinguished woman of Europe, re-entered the French capital. Her "Corinne" had been the apotheosis of Italy; her "Allemagne," delayed by her persecutor till the resurrection of Germany and his own downfall, was now her own apotheosis.

A battle was fought on the 30th of March, 1814, under the walls of Paris, and the allies entered the city. Madame de Staël's reappearance there was another social triumph. Her *salon* was again opened and thronged. Her friends returned; Montmorency and Châteaubriand to take office, and Madame Recamier, from her exile in Italy, to embellish the society of the capital with her undiminished beauty. The Government paid to the authoress the two millions of Necker's claim. She saw her daughter married to the Duc de Broglie, and placed in the highest ranks of French society. Her fame filled Europe; no queen had more. She had been faithful, and had triumphed at last. The "Hundred Days" threatened that triumph, but Waterloo secured it.

The world knows well the remainder of the remarkable story. The persecutor—the greatest captain of his age, if not of any age—died, himself an exile on the rock of St. Helena: his victim—the greatest feminine writer of her age, if not of any age—became the idol of his lost capital, the intellectual empress of Europe, and died peacefully in her restored Parisian home—Lafayette, Wellington, royal personages from the Tuileries, the representatives of all European Courts, inquiring daily at her door, and the world feeling that by her death, in the language of Châteaubriand, "society was struck with a general disaster;" that "it made one of those breaches which the fall of a superior intellect produces once in an age, and which can never be closed."

Art. II.—TAYLER LEWIS: IN MEMORIAM.

The name of Tayler Lewis is so well known to the world of letters, and especially to all students of the biblical word, that we can hope to add but little to the general knowledge already possessed regarding him, and that little our own personal experience gained during a long intercourse in social and professional relations. Our object in the following pages will, therefore, rather be to collate, condense, and arrange whatever of interest relates to his character and career than to enter into any extended criticism regarding his genius and the labors of

his pen and brain. This latter work has already been done by abler hands than these, and the world is so well acquainted with the profound scholar that we opine it will be more ready to hear of Tayler Lewis the man, as he lived and moved among his family and his fellow-men, and walked and talked in his daily life.

And even this lowly task is no easy one, for the simplest words and deeds of Dr. Lewis were full of the significance of the sage, the Christian, and the scholar; and, therefore, even in this sphere we may hope in vain to weave a garland worthy of his brow. We shall be satisfied if our simple story may find a fitting resting-place at his feet.

Dr. Lewis was a graduate of Union College, to which he finally gave the prime of his life and the perfect fullness of his labors. He graduated in 1820, with such rare men for classmates as Seward, Kent, and Hickok, after a college career of rare promise. At the close of his academic studies he entered on those of law, which he so far completed in Albany that he was enabled to commence practice in a little town on the upper Hudson, with no apparent conception that he was fitted for a higher sphere of labor in his profession. But, unconsciously, he felt a void that his eager and busy nature longed in some way to fill, and he therefore pursued with energy his classical studies, and especially the broad range of linguistics, with Hebrew in the foreground, which finally led him to the investigation of biblical lore.

He soon, however, began to feel that the law was not a profession to which he could devote his peculiar gifts, or in which he could find the highest satisfaction, and he, consequently, entered the career of teaching, at first in a classical school in Wateford, and later in Ogdensburgh, N. Y. In the meanwhile his expanding genius and growing works were not unnoticed by those among whom he began his learned career, and he was, consequently, soon honored with a call to deliver the annual oration before the Phi Beta Kappa of his *Alma Mater*. In performing this honorable task he treated of "Faith, the Life of Science," and in words so fitting and thoughts so inspiring and convincing, that he sealed his own brow with the stamp of an acute and patient scholar.

This successful effort soon gained for him calls to several of

the colleges of the land, and he was elected for the University of New York, where he labored with great success in the Chair of Greek for some eleven years, supplementing the teaching of the class-room with the more retired labors in his study by giving his individual attention to the whole range of Classical and Oriental Philology. The world soon became aware of this industry in the publication of a translation of Theætetus with notes, which was followed by the tenth book of Plato's Dialogue—"Plato Against the Atheists"—enriched by deep and learned critical notes.

These valuable contributions to the world of classic letters soon made him widely known to scholars, and so increased the pride of his *Alma Mater* that she was glad to call him back to the home where he began his career. He had become doubly attached to the University of New York, but found still stronger the ties that drew him to his early literary home; and, therefore, though at some sacrifice of the opportunities that a large city offers to the scholar in the line of means for learned investigation, he resolved to accept the call to the Chair of Greek in Union College, which he assumed in 1849.

Here he seized his pen with renewed vigor, and soon surprised the world with his "Six Days of Creation," the best known, perhaps, of all his works, in which he developed the coincidence of Scripture and geology. This was received with many sharp and bitter criticisms, especially from the pen of Prof. Dana; and these attacks called forth numerous defenses from his friends and from himself in the form of "The Bible and Science." At a later date he published the "Divine Human in the Scriptures."

And while the one hand was engaged in this very scholarly work, the other was busy fighting the battles of the world in the "Editor's Table" of "Harper's Magazine" for some five years, after which his fugitive articles in periodicals, magazines, and quarterlies, on theology, philology, and nearly every living interest, became still more frequent and copious. When the Southern Rebellion broke out his heart beat high for the cause of political unity and human liberty for even the humblest of the race; and in the treatise on "State Rights" he presented a photograph of the "Ruins of Ancient Greece," as a prolific lesson and a solemn warning to those who would imitate the

follies of that land from which we have learned so many valuable lessons. This was followed by "Heroic Periods in a Nation's History," showing how his active brain and patriotic heart were ready to lay their contributions on the altar of his country's needs.

Our own acquaintance and professional relations with Dr. Lewis commenced at the close of the war, at which period he turned his attention more than ever to biblical study and research. His very first conversation was about the wealth of German lore, the richness of German idiom, and especially the wonderful depths of German theological investigation. Into these he longed to plunge, but had been prevented by other pressing duties and by a more than ordinary difficulty which he confessed to have felt in examining the tongue with a view to its acquisition. And, strange to say, his trouble seemed to consist more in the minor words and uninflected particles than in those in which most scholars find their greatest difficulty. The longest and most far-fetched words were the easiest, from the fact of their derivation from other tongues, and their logical composition in imitation of the Greek; but the particles, which from their very nature must be national, idiomatic, and arbitrary, gave him such trouble, that for these little things he could not have the patience to give so much valuable time.

Just then Dr. Lewis had received a flattering invitation to undertake the translation and annotation of the Book of Genesis in the famous "Bible Work" of the great German theologian, Dr. John Peter Lange—the most celebrated biblical Commentary of the age, having its origin in a group of German scholars, with Dr. Lange as the chief worker and projector. Under the general editorial control of Dr. Philip Schaff this work was being prepared for the American public by another group of distinguished biblical scholars in this country. Dr. Schaff's critical eye soon saw that the author of "Six Days of Creation" would be just the man to do the fullest justice to the Genesis of this series, and was, therefore, desirous of placing Dr. Lewis at the head of the American forces.

Dr. Lewis felt that the annotation would meet his taste, and afford him a field for his peculiar range of study; but the slow and plodding work of translation had no charms for him, especially in view of the extreme and laborious difficulty of the

task when German theologians afford the subject-matter. In this dilemma he appealed to the author of this sketch, who begged to be excused from a task so dry and uninviting, and so alien to the ordinary line of his work and study as a layman. But Dr. Lewis had fixed his mind on annotating Genesis, and said, in almost pathetic words, "If you will translate it for me I will annotate it, but my health is too feeble to undertake both."

Now, to know Dr. Lewis was to love him, and to love him was to serve him; and so we for a time yielded, until he became more familiar with the work in the first place, and was finally able to procure more efficient aid from a professional theologian. One great difficulty to such mutual labor was the doctor's increasing deafness, which had been growing on him for years, and which at this period was so decided that one could only communicate with him by means of an ear-trumpet. But this inability to communicate with the outer world made him more inclined to go within himself, and there concentrate all his powers—and this he did in the work now before him. The result was a volume of unexampled worth in the exegesis of the Bible story of the creation, and a most valuable introduction to the extensive series.

It was extremely difficult for the inquiring and sometimes imaginative mind of Dr. Lewis to accord in all respects with the views of the distinguished author, and the result is an extensive series of notes with the well known initials "T. L.," in which he either questioned some position of the book, or added valuable thoughts from his own treasury. In a recent interview that we enjoyed with Dr. Lange, in his home in Bonn, on the Rhine, the aged scholar spoke with great respect of Dr. Lewis, but hinted that he had added considerable matter to the original. In short, it may be well to say just here that Dr. Lewis rarely touched a commentator without improving on him, and that the opinions of many scholars unite in the verdict that the American edition is a great improvement on the German, largely from the work done on it by the subject of this sketch.

And here we may also say that not a few of Dr. Lewis' friends regret that he, instead of being the commentator of the commentators, had not for himself blocked out a field of origi-

inal labor in this respect, and become the American commentator *par excellence*. But Dr. Lewis' many-sidedness was, in one sense, his misfortune; his views and arenas were so broad, and his depth of vision so great, that it was difficult for him to confine himself to one course of study exclusively. He lived in the world with an intensity that knew no bounds, and was so broadly humanitarian that scarcely a week would pass that did not bring up something that would call him off from a steady career. The result was a vast amount of desultory work, which, collected together, would form a veritable library, but which in its scattered condition, floating on every billow that tossed the nation or agitated the schools, had its intense but transient effect, and then disappeared on the troubled waters, leaving an influence which, though his, was scarcely attributed to his genius.

The nervous wear on his feeble frame in the work on Genesis caused him to fear to undertake any more of this Bible series, and for awhile he rested from this line of labor. But he was soon seized with a great desire to make a metrical version of the "Preacher Solomon" in connection with a commentary on the text, and the opportunity was offered to him in the Ecclesiastes of the great German "Bible Work." But here again came up the matter of the translation; with this he could not be burdened, and again came to us the appeal to take up the laboring oar. We plead incapacity, incompatibility, and various other short-comings—all the time, as we knew, having the wishes of his loving family at our back, that in his weakness and age he might abstain from such wearing work. But in vain. His loving manner and enthusiastic spirit again got the better of our judgment, and came off victors; and our share of the work was the entire translation placed in his hands, while he would turn the prose poem into meter, and annotate it.

Now, however, came up a new feature of the breadth of the doctor's genius. We confess to misgivings as to his power in the arena of the poet, and had our doubts as to his success in handling so sublime a theme in so difficult a garb, and at one time wished that we might dissuade him from the attempt. But, to our surprise, we found him high master in this art, to which men are rather born than fashioned. In his study of the ancient classics he had found no more congenial task than that

of their metrical structure, and had studied this with the greatest success, until he had become an oracle.

In the "Iris," or "Literary Messenger," published in New York in 1841, the leading article, of about twenty compact pages, is an essay on the "Ancient Meters," from an unpublished treatise, of which this appears as an isolated chapter. But as we look over it, and see how deeply and exhaustively it treats of all the laws of classic verse, and how page after page is full of illustrations of the metrical system, presented mostly in lines from the Greek poets, we are led to exclaim, as did recently the incumbent of a classic chair in one of our colleges when this was shown to him, "Wonderful!" Why this should lie buried, and Dr. Lewis receive comparatively no credit and no special advantage from it, is again one of the unselfish marvels of the man. But his was the pleasure to create—he had but the smallest capacity to draw pecuniary profit from his labor.

This fact, however, dispelled all fears as to his success in giving to this interesting book a still more attractive garb; and the end crowned the work, as the readers of the metrical version of "Koheleth" will attest, as well as the treatise on the poetical character of the book.

The crowning triumph, however, in this line, was reserved for the Book of Job. Dr. Lewis had again resolved to do no more work of this kind; but here again the temptation was too strong. He had long held sweet communion with the man of Uz, admired his humility and patience in suffering, and longed, also, to place his touching story into more stately garb, and throw around it the light of his long investigation and reflection. To Dr. Lewis Job was in some regard the hero of sacred story, and a character of whose history he never tired. He had let pass no opportunity to obtain all that had been written about him in the course of biblical commentary, and what he did not possess he obtained, regardless of cost or trouble, and, thus armed, he proceeded with his last work of love in scriptural commentary.

The reader who will refer to the book will see the proud result in an introduction that is well worthy of forming a stately volume of itself—that will, doubtless, some time take this shape. Had it been published as an independent treatise,

with the simple title, "Lewis on Job," it would certainly have gained a large circulation. As it is, only those who can possess the massive volume, or the lengthy series, can enjoy it. In the general introduction he makes a masterly analysis of the poetry of the Bible, the spirit of Hebrew poetry, true poetic merit, lyric and didactic poetry, etc.; and then proceeds to a thorough and exhaustive criticism of the Book itself, commencing with its grandeur and purity, and proceeding through the whole category of its rich and rare qualities, leaving no valuable characteristic untouched and no authority disregarded, and crowning the whole with his own reflections, and the result of many years of profound and exhaustive study. We need scarcely say that the result is the crowning work of his life, and a fitting one with which to close so long a series of intellectual efforts, as it was virtually his last great labor.

But this about exhausted the physical strength of the venerable sage; and even while engaged in it he was from time to time obliged to stop and take rest, that he might reach another *stadium*. And he seemed to fear sometimes that he might not reach the goal, and worked, knowing that the King's business admits of no delay. His Master was pleased, however, to spare his life until the completion of this work, when the venerable man lay down to die—but not to rest. While on his sick-bed he accepted an engagement to furnish a series of Expositions of Sabbath-school Lessons, extending over six months, for the "Sunday-School Times;" and this he could only do by dictation to his devoted daughter, who at his bedside thus wrote them out.

And in this closing work of his life for the love of the children, in imitation of his Master, he again showed, under the most trying circumstances, his intimate knowledge of the sacred word. His conversation was always beautiful—here it seemed almost inspired. He was so full of the Bible that he seldom needed to refer to it, and when he did so it was with an accuracy quite surprising. He would direct his daughter to such a book, chapter, and verse—he might fail a little in this latter, but what he desired was almost surely found in the chapter quoted. In this work his heart was greatly touched with the devotion of his family, and, as we have it from the lips of wife and daughter, he sweetly said one day, in regarding them vying

with one another to serve him: "Ruskin has written much about the beauties of nature, but he has never seen any thing so beautiful as my dear wife and devoted daughter tending night and day to all my wants."

A great trial to Dr. Lewis, and one which he could not always bear without repining, was his total deafness in his latter years, for toward the last he was absolutely entirely void of the power of hearing. When others would start at the loud thunder-clap, he would only know of it by the flash that preceded it, for hear it he could not. This rendered all free intercourse with him absolutely impossible, for he did not seem so much as some persons to divine from the movements of the lips the subject of their speech; he was too impatient to know what was said to follow this slow and doubtful process. All that was said to him, therefore, was communicated by writing; but he had the faculty of divining often from the commencement of a sentence what would be its end, and he was so happy himself in conversation that a few sentences would start him off into some train of golden thought that needed few words from others; he was a perfect conversationalist, without the magic inspiration of reply to his propositions.

But it annoyed him greatly to see others engaged in animated conversation while he knew nothing of the subject of it, and at times, when we thought him quietly resting, or even dozing on his lounge with his family, he would ask to know what we were conversing about. Sometimes the answer would quiet him for awhile, and then again it would start him off into a train of conversation quite foreign to the subject under discussion, because, with the curtness of the written explanation, he had not fully comprehended the full scope of the friendly talk. He never seemed fully conscious of his condition in this respect, and almost rebelled against accepting it. Even in the darkness of the night he would rise up and ask his wife questions that it was impossible for her to answer, because he then could neither see nor hear. And this led him to have fears in regard to his eyes. "What if I should lose my sight, also?" he would sometimes exclaim, in despair at the possibility of such an overwhelming misfortune—and one which he had no reason to anticipate, for his eyes were excellent, and did him yeoman service during a long life.

At times he would mourn even to sadness at this affliction. In the early spring he delighted to wander over the college grounds and campus and in the groves, and then his eyes never failed to see the birds, but their melody fell dead on his ears. On one occasion, while walking with him, he exclaimed, "How beautiful is all this! but how it is marred to me by the quiet of the grove! You can hear the singing of the birds, which is absolutely needed to this heavenly harmony, but to me all is quiet as the sepulcher!" He would frequently say to eminent divines, who made a pilgrimage of love to his study or his bedside in his dying days, "Pray with me; I cannot hear you, but I can feel that you are communing with God."

Perhaps his greatest trial in this regard was his inability to hear the sweet Christian hymns in which his soul delighted, and which he loved to hear sung when yet his ears could catch the melody; among these were, "When I can read my title clear," "There is a land of pure delight," and the chorus, "O, that will be joyful!" And even when his own voice was dead to him he would hum these tunes, often in the stillness of the night, and thus was frequently heard repeating to himself aloud, when racked with pain and uneasy with suffering, such favorite expressions as, "I know that my Redeemer liveth!"

And still the fact that he almost refused, in one sense, to accept his deafness, made it less trying for him to bear it, because he so often acted as if it were not so. He was alive to every thing that occurred in the world, and when he was specially excited by some political event or theological heresy in popular preachers, he would make his way up to the business office of the college, where the faculty are accustomed to drop in during the morning, and, seizing on the first one whom he met, he was likely to deliver a pungent diatribe on the absurdity or wickedness of whatever was the subject of his thoughts, as if the unlucky wight whom he had caught were the guilty party. In these discussions there was no "talking back;" the doctor had matters all his own way; but this quite as often proved a relief to the attacked party, whose silence was gold where speech would have been but silver. These scenes sometimes became quite ludicrous—now because his sharp switch stung some one who was asking, "Is it I?" and again because all present by

affirmative nods were trying to make him understand that we thought just as he did, and that in this relation he was enacting the battle of the windmills.

And this gives us an easy transition to the intense sympathy of Dr. Lewis in all that was going on in the world. Nothing escaped his attention that was of ordinary interest; indeed, it may even be said that he troubled himself often about trifling things, that were not worthy of his steel; but he seemed sometimes to feel as if the responsibility of having the world go on properly was on his shoulders, and that he was in some way to blame if it did not. He could scarcely wait to have the mail arrive with the periodicals which he was accustomed to read, or to which he contributed. His daily walk was to the post-office and back, sometimes several times, and the residents of the avenue through which he passed were quite accustomed to see go by a small, delicately-built man, with fragile frame and massive head, from which flowed down to his shoulders a rich mass of hair, growing yearly more and more gray.

His forehead seemed almost to shelve over his deeply-sunken and flashing eyes, that in repose were directed to the ground, but in agitation gazed with anxious look, as if to find some kindred spirit with whom to have communion of thought. He was quite indifferent to dress, often verging on carelessness, until sometimes he would wake up to the fact that his wardrobe needed renewal, and then for a time would seem as proud as a child of his renovation in garb. He usually wore a large felt hat, that not unfrequently would slip back on his head as he wandered along absorbed in thought, while he carried a slight cane usually across the small of his back, behind which his arms were trussed, as the wings of a fowl ready for the oven. He carried his cane so continually in this style that it finally acquired a bend to fit his back, so that in case of a new one he needed to break it in, as one does new boots.

So characteristic and scholarly was his appearance that any stranger regarding him would have declared him a philosopher and thinker, and all the world around him, great and small, knew that this peculiar figure was Dr. Lewis. When for a few days he would disappear from his accustomed walks it would be whispered around that Dr. Lewis was sick, and it was quite a trial toward the last for him to give them up. In his

latter years he was subject to spells of vertigo, so that he was liable to fall down, in the post-office or on the way; and this, in addition to his deafness, made it quite dangerous for him to cross the railroad; and still he ventured out, beyond the limits of prudence. To induce him not to do so, his family would often send an early messenger to anticipate his errand, and thus prevent it. One day it was not possible to do this immediately, when he prepared to go himself. His daughter begged him not to, and promised that Bridget should soon go and get his mail. "Bridget!" said he, with a tone of ill-concealed contempt; "Bridget can't bring me the news of the Vermont election!"

But when his box of papers and magazines were emptied into his hands, he made his way home, absorbed all the way in the effort to read and walk at the same time, so that he neither saw nor knew any one that passed him; but all knew him, and deferentially gave way for him. It was amusing sometimes to meet him when a matter of more than general interest pleased or annoyed him, and he would look up from his sheet for some one to whom to talk. Just thus surcharged he once met the author of these lines the day after a distinguished divine of Brooklyn had been present at a banquet given to Tyndall, when his challenge to a prayer test was fresh in all minds, and when said banquet seemed an ovation to the scientist because he had thus cast a sneer at direct answer to prayer. The doctor talked so loud about this inconsistent conduct in the great preacher as to attract the attention of the passers-by, and only found relief in the resolution to go home and write a letter about it to the New York papers, which some of our readers will yet recollect in the columns of a prominent weekly.

Another time he stopped us on the street with the hasty question, "Did you see the paper last evening?" "Yes." "Did you see that base attack on Bismarck?" "Yes." "Well, now, go directly home and write an article to set that editor right for this evening's paper. It is your duty to do so; you know all about Bismarck, and can show how false is every assertion in that article."

But the most characteristic incident showing the interest of Dr. Lewis in all national controversies, and his fatherly care for his younger colleague, is as follows: The latter had re-

ceived the appointment from his fellow-townsmen to deliver the oration on the occasion of the coming "Decoration Day." The evening journal had announced the fact in a few lines, and was scarcely in the hands of the citizens when we heard a loud rap at the door, which we knew to be that of Dr. Lewis, and we accordingly answered the call. It was the year when so much was said pro and con about decorating all the soldiers' graves in our cemeteries, whether of Northern or of Southern men. With flashing eyes the doctor said, "I see you are to deliver the oration on 'Decoration Day.'" We assented with a nod. "Have you written it yet?" "No; it will not be written." "Do you intend to favor the decorating of rebel graves?" "No; shall not discuss the subject at all." With this his frame relaxed, his eyes grew soft, he said a few kind words, placed his cane behind his back, and put his arms behind it, and thus walked, ponderingly and comforted, to his home. The honor of his colleague was yet safe.

It was a wonder to all his friends that, with this intensity of life, bearing not only his own burdens, domestic and professional, but also those of the country, and, indeed, we may say of humanity at large, his slender frame held out so long, and that he came near reaching the fourscore of the psalmist, when years are a burden and sorrow. He could well say, with the trite Latin proverb that he so often quoted, "I am a man, and nothing human is foreign to me;" but it seemed too much that he should bear all humanity's ills.

At a very early period he took part in the discussion of the slavery question, and, though at first quite conservative, he finally changed his views, and became the warmest defender of the slave. He studied slavery in all its aspects, biblical and otherwise, and has written a multitude of articles on this prolific subject. The most connected ones on this and kindred political subjects may be found in "Harper's Monthly," Editor's Table, from 1851 to 1856. And his hopes of the negro race in their native land may be found embodied in his addition to Blyden's book, entitled, "The People of Africa; Their Character, Condition, and Future Prospects." He was a great admirer of Blyden, the African scholar of Liberia, and assisted in introducing his book to the American public.

When the war came he saw as its results the abolition of

slavery and the preservation of the Union, or a complete failure; for he considered such conclusions the only logical ones. And he virtually enlisted for the war—not for three months or three years—with that mightier weapon than the sword. And he used his pen with untiring zeal and vigor, frequently consuming the midnight oil to prepare articles for the next day's press. And no pen more pungent, piercing, or trenchant than that of Tayler Lewis helped to sustain the Administration and the cause of the Union and liberty. Besides his published articles on Greeley and Lincoln, and the great crowd of statesmen of the war, *pro* or *con*, he corresponded much privately, and once thus replied to the flippant question, "What shall we do with the Negro?" "And pray, sir, what shall the Negro do with you? It is my logic, with no disrespect to any body, that one question is as fair as the other."

And in this conflict Dr. Lewis fought more than a mere war of words. His domestic circle was lessened by the absence of two who were nearest and dearest to him, whose fate was entwined around his own heart, and with whom he lived and suffered in the struggle, and one of whom it was his sad lot to follow to the grave in the prime of manhood, leaving behind a surviving family to mourn his loss, though to enjoy his honor. He had, therefore, the strongest reason to be at the front in every battle on the field, and lead off in every discussion in the press. This led him to live a life so nervously intense as to cause surprise that he bore up under it all with so frail a body. He was at one and the same time the young man in action and the old man in counsel, and thus fairly did double duty during all the course of the war.

And when it was ended he also bore all the burdens of reconstruction, lived with all national and State elections, and almost to his dying hour would daily inquire the progress of great measures of the nation with a lively interest in all that concerned the fate of the colored race. This intense interest in popular controversy frequently so absorbed his mind as to interfere with his literary work, and at times forced him to suspend it; for it was a fashion with him to follow the impulses of his heart, and rush into the fray where he thought that lances were to be crossed with false doctrines or injustice of any kind. He was so essentially by nature a controversialist

that if some luckless opponent haply quoted bad Latin or worse Greek, he would take him up in an instant, and impale him on Latin syntax or Greek prosody, and perhaps, as in one instance with a Catholic priest in Albany, write letter after letter on a matter comparatively trivial, thereby exhausting strength that he needed for weightier matters.

It was hard to induce him to engage in any thing that did not suit his taste, though he were offered a good compensation for the labor. He abhorred contract work, and would frequently reject it because he did not feel able to do it, and then persistently be engaged for weeks in writing letters to New York journals on matters of public discussion, for which he received no other remuneration than the satisfaction of having his say on the subject under discussion. We have several times been authorized to offer him work the best adapted to his talents, and which he could perform better than any other man, but he would decline, or put it off till a more convenient season, which never came, because humanity demanded his attention, or some injustice burdened his soul. In all these things he was unselfish to a fault; he did himself injustice in caring, in all his work, so little for his pecuniary interest. Most men with his power would have made it command a fortune, while he died poor, though he did work enough to make him rich had his matters been managed in a business way, or, indeed, had he received compensation for half of what he did.

The large number of young men that grew up under his guidance entertained a great respect for him as a teacher, and when, in after life, they began literary labor on their own account, they would court his criticism and advice; and in this way he has written stacks of letters, and numberless criticisms and introductions to books, as a labor of love and friendship. A favorable critique or introductory review of any book from Tayler Lewis was the best introduction that any worker, young or old, could covet on appearing before the public.

Not many teachers have lived who have had more admiring students. They hung upon his lips while in the class-room, and in after life frequently made a pilgrimage to his study, and even to his bedside, to pay him the homage of deep respect. At his death many of these testified to this love by letters written for their own or other journals, so that these, collected,

would make of themselves quite a little volume. As a representative of this large class, we will here let one of them, still a young man, speak for himself:—

The brief paragraph in the papers of Saturday last announcing the death of Tayler Lewis signified but little to the thousands who ran over it hastily in the news items of the day. But there are others, and their number is not small, to whom the announcement comes bringing with it the consciousness of a great loss to the nation and the world, and to some a sense of heavy and personal bereavement. Scholars will lament that one who was the ripest, the fullest, and the most profound of their number has closed the studies which were his delight, and in the pursuit of which he added so much to the intellectual wealth of his day. Theologians will realize that one of the acutest and most vigorous minds that ever entered the arena of religious controversialism, and one which brought with it the inspiration of a noble heart and high heroic manhood, has laid aside forever the weapons of dispute. Statesmen who have appreciated and enjoyed the close logic, the keen analysis, and the breadth and grasp of intellect which he brought to the consideration of political questions, will experience more than a momentary regret that his pungent and powerful utterances will no longer aid in molding the thoughts of the times. Thousands unknown to fame all over the land, who love the one Book which he, to whom the wealth of every language was familiar, loved better than all, will grieve at his death as that of a friend whom they have known, though never seen; for he did not deem it beneath him to devote his wide and varied learning to make plain to children the meaning of that volume which was his chief joy and consolation.

But with a pain keener than that of any or all these does the news of his death come to those who have sat under his teachings; who have heard from his own lips the words which others must take from the printed page; who have listened while the glorious passages of the Greek classics glowed with a new fervor, and seemed full of a grander inspiration as he interpreted them, his eyes kindling and his voice trembling with the sympathy awakened within him; who have found a beauty and a power of which they never dreamed before in the words of prophet and apostle, as he took the original versions, and rendered them in that pure and perfect English of which he was the consummate master. It is not, however, to his genius alone that this tribute of grief is rendered on the part of those who have enjoyed a daily intercourse with him in the relation of student to a professor. Their sorrow has a deeper source than the mere eclipse of intellectual brilliancy. It is due to the fact that much of whatever growth they have made toward a noble manhood they owe to the impulse received in their lecture-room and in his study, and from the example of the life which he lived—brave, and grand, and sweet.

This splendid tribute of pupil to teacher was morally due to Dr. Lewis for one of the most genial and heartfelt efforts of his life. He was a teacher and scholar of the old school, and had no great sympathy with many of the modern innovations which have been made in the training of the young. And at the university convocation, held in Albany, in 1874, he delighted and surprised the assembled regents and teachers of the State by a paper entitled "My Old School-master." This old school-master was the teacher of young Tayler Lewis for about four years. It was Rev. Cyrus Comstock, of Northumberland, N. Y., of whom Dr. Lewis, when seventy years of age, gave a delightful memoir, and whose style of instruction he held up for imitation in his paper read at the university convention. "It was there," the doctor says, "I learned my first lessons in spelling and reading, receiving at that early day an impression of truth and goodness that has ever kept its unfading aspect in my memory." The whole paper was a beautiful tribute to the piety and faithfulness of one who had helped to mold his early years, and the old school-master's virtues and methods were held up by his distinguished pupil as the foundation of the latter's career. But how little conception had the "old school-master" of the richness of the ground into which he was sowing seed that was destined to bring forth truly a hundred-fold!

And what more fitting threshold can we have than this, whereby to enter the study of Dr. Lewis, and spend a brief season among his books, which tell an eloquent story now that their lover and guardian is gone? His chair with arm-rest, his table, his lounge, his drawers and shelves, still remain just as he left them, for his family cannot yet bear to see a book removed or a piece of furniture take a new place. And it seems, indeed, almost presumption to handle these treasures without his presence to give to each its story and its value.

First of all comes his famous Hebrew Bible, filled with notes, in which he has recorded this undying line: "True, a very precious book." This came into his hands in 1829, and for fourteen years he read it through annually, and afterward very frequently. The book is full of notes of the most significant character, which prove the immense amount of thought he gave to its contents. He was very fond of altering the ver-

sions, and some of these alterations were very beautiful and highly poetical. The top of the back of the book is actually worn away by his fingers in pulling it so many, many times from the shelves. No wonder that one of his students recently attested that Dr. Lewis was a marvelous philologist, and that his Hebrew learning would have astonished a rabbi. It is said that he could tell every marked word in the Hebrew Bible, the number of times it was used in the Scriptures, and the particular shade of meaning in each instance; and the general physiognomy and notes of this old Bible might well support this assertion. But even this was not enough, for he had a little Hebrew psalter, which he carried in his pocket, that it might be ever with him for reference.

Then comes a copy of the Iliad, three hundred years old, also fingered through and through. This he read through very often, and he had read also twice over the whole forty-five plays extant of the Greek drama. And one smiles to see the enumeration of his preparatory course in Greek and Latin before he felt fitted to teach. All of the dialogues of Plato; nearly all of Aristotle, his physica, metaphysica, and his more specially physical treatises, and also his ethical and political writings; a large part of the lesser hexameter poetry, such as Apollonius, Rhodius, and Aratus, also Pindar and the pastoral poets; all of Thucydides, all of Herodotus, all of Xenophon, nearly all of Plutarch, Longinus, Lucian, Diodorus Siculus, and the gnomic and epic poetry; all of Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, and all of Cicero. And here let us draw a long breath to say that all of these were read before he assumed his professorship in the University of New York.

These shelves contain a great many old books that we cannot find room to mention: indeed, it is a library of curiosities for the antiquarian, and among them are many manuscript volumes of his own annotations on difficult and disputed passages of the Bible—for it was his custom to catch the golden thought as it sped through his brain, and give it a habitation in his books while it was still fresh in his mind. And thus he was always full of matter for such learned treatises as the excursus on the "Rivers of Paradise," "The Flood," the "Confusion of Tongues," the "Idea of Future Life in the Old Testament," the "Law of Homicide," and many others. And these manu-

scripts were also rich sources of supply for the "Figurative Language of the Bible," or "The Bible Language of the Heart," the "Religious Responsibility of the State," and a number of other works in this vein, still in manuscript, that may yet be published.

This collection gives also the most ample evidence of Dr. Lewis' love for and devotion to the Oriental tongues. He was first aided in this work by a colleague in the New York University, a Jewish lecturer on the Hebrew idiom, and by him was led to study the later Hebrew rabbinical writings; and after he came to Union College he added the Arabic and Syriac to his repertory of Oriental idioms, and went on, indeed, with so many of these that he almost exhausted them. The only evidence that we find of any hesitation in this line in his library is a note in an Assyrian grammar, that this he did not fully understand.

But he finally so completely mastered the Koran that he studied a commentary on it in Arabic, and then began to make his own comments on the Koran and the commentary in Arabic in notes in the margin. And all these notes in the Oriental tongues were executed with great beauty and accuracy. His pen seemed to rival the printed page, and the latter seldom passed without a correction of some kind in relation to the marks or signs on or under the words, if not in the use of the words themselves. These manuscripts are beautiful as a picture sometimes, and a joy to look at. All that the doctor's pen touched was executed with manly strength and womanly neatness.

It may almost be said that Arabic notes were a specialty with him; they lie scattered around as if they were not diamonds, and greet one in the most unexpected places—adorning a Syriac Testament as a Hebrew Bible. He was a great admirer of Mohammed, and thought, with his favorite Blyden, the Negro scholar of a Liberian school, that Mohammedanism in Africa was to be in some sense the precursor of African civilization. This admiration the doctor carried over to Arabian lore outside of the Koran, and had scarcely any books that he appreciated more than those in the Arabic. We chanced one day to call on him after dinner, and found him reading the "Arabian Nights" in the original, as a pleasant pastime for

an hour after dinner, enriching the margin with Arabic notes.

But his great delight was a Euclid in Arabic, published in Rome in 1594. The venerable volume bears the mark of much handling; more by him, we judge, than any or all of its former owners. Why a distinguished philologist should take so much interest in Euclid may surprise some; but Dr. Lewis had all the characteristics for a great mathematician, had biblical investigation not so entirely absorbed his mind. He was an adept in mathematical science as it was, and did even more than study Euclid; in his mind he would create new problems, and then sit for hours working them out in figures. Sometimes he has been known to rise from his bed when he could not sleep, and as a relief take his paper and pencil, and work out new geometrical problems, some of which now exist in these manuscripts to be found in his library. Mathematical books and propositions were his delight, and this mathematical turn of mind, doubtless, did its share toward sharpening his keen logic.

And this led him to the physical heavens, for he was also a great lover of astronomy. He gazed at the stars for hours at night, studied their groupings and their courses, and knew them by sight as well as by place and name. The leading ones were often his friendly companions in his nightly walks; and when from his sick bed he could no longer see them, he would inquire after them. "Is Orion bright to-night?" he once asked on a bed made sleepless with pain, as during the day he would say, "Are the winds sounding and the birds singing in the college woods to-day?" This versatility of thought did not desert him till the last. He lived with every earthly beauty, every scientific truth, every religious consolation, while he breathed. As in his library his eye gazed on a thousand instruments of thought, with rich clusters of results in print and manuscript, he seemed anew to drink all in, and revel in the labor of his many years. To jot down the spontaneous thoughts of his busy brain he was in the habit of having near him a multitude of little memorandum books, made just to suit his taste; and one can now follow the journeyings of his mind by running these over page after page. As they lie, apparently worthless little note-books of daily jottings, one

who knows them not would be inclined to pass them over with small notice, whereas they contain the first-fruits of many precious thoughts, afterward worked out into ponderous arguments.

Among the very rare books is a copy of Ulfilas' Gothic Bible, that the doctor prized as the gem of his library, and to these might be added many of great interest to scholars, and especially to bibliophiles. The questions must, of course, rise to all minds, Who shall possess these gems? What shall become of this library, so valuable in itself, and so hallowed by association? Shall it be scattered, or shall it remain intact? Its pecuniary value must be considerable to those whose line of life and thought is like that of its owner, and such a one might well pay generously for it because of its real intrinsic value. But it is more than all this to the surviving family of the great scholar, who as yet feel as if they must keep it intact as he left it—his only legacy.

Dr. Lewis was also a member of the Bible Revision Committee, though he could only add his share by correspondence as it was solicited in difficult cases. Living as he did amid this mass of theological lore, men may wonder that Dr. Lewis was not a professional theologian; indeed, many may be now surprised to learn that he was a simple layman, and not even a doctor of divinity. And, although he long ago received the LL.D. from his *Alma Mater*, and a special degree for classical literature from the Board of Regents of the University of the State, to himself he seemed to remain simple Tayler Lewis; but how grand is this name in its very simplicity, and how infinitely more honorable from what he made it than from what others made it! Many times his friends put to him the question, as did the writer of these lines, "Why have you not taken ministerial orders?" for in his prime his capacities in the pulpit would have been brilliant, with his quickly-working brain, his speaking eye, his sweet, clear, penetrating voice, and, above all, his personal magnetism. To this oft-repeated question he had but one response. "I consider the ministerial office one of such great and solemn responsibility toward God and man that I do not feel myself sanctified to the work; it is too holy, too lofty; for such as I am." And in speaking with him on this subject one could not feel that this was assumed humility; he

seemed in the presence of God's special work to have the deep conviction that he was not purified for it.

But his life was very pure and Christ-like, and with pious resignation he bore his infirmities, and on the bed of pain was resigned to all his sufferings, because he was "so great a sinner," and needed them for his purification. When the sharp pangs would come while on his sick couch, he would say, "These are not so severe as He suffered for me on the cross;" and some of the sweetest utterances of his last days are composed of comparisons between his own pangs and those of the dying Saviour whose blood would wash him white. And this being washed white in red blood was to him an inspired expression: "Just think of it! What person uninspired would speak of being made white by the application of red blood? I have often thought of it, and the Bible is full of such expressions." He endured all his sufferings with the most Christian resignation, and a few weeks before his death, when it was evident that he would soon depart, his daughter said to him, "It will be so hard to part with you." "Yes, it will be hard to part; I shall part with much, but I shall go to much." Another time she said, "The world will not seem very bright to me when I can no longer see you." He answered, "O, my child, where I am going there is eternal brightness."

His religious faith was very simple, and with his mighty reason he depended much less on it than on the divine story of the cross and the revealed word which he has done so very much to verify and make simple even to the child. His was the believing spirit; and it is a beautiful testimony to the truth of the Gospel that this man, who was both scientist and theologian, saw no incongruity between the Scripture story and that of science, and he who knew so fully the physical forces of nature felt still the force of prayer in shaping the beneficence and mercy of God.

And as he was devoted to his God, so he was faithful to his friends and the special interests with which he was identified. He was greatly attached to the college, and loved nothing so well as to roam in contemplation through its groves and across its campus. His special enjoyment was the magnificent sunsets witnessed of a summer evening from the terrace of the latter. He would stand and gaze at the sky long after the

glow of the setting sun had disappeared, and seemed to be lost, as he declared, in the contemplation of the land of Beulah beyond. "How can I leave Union College?" he would often say in his waning days, as if the institution would lose its guardian angel when he should pass away. And the college in return feels the irreparable loss of Tayler Lewis; his fame was so bound up with its history and its works that there is, indeed, a void without him, and one that no man expects to fill. It has been said that when Dr. Lewis died so *much* died—so much learning, so much usefulness, so much influence, so much that took years of hard study to acquire. And thus when he finally left them, though he had not been an active teacher in the work of his chair for some time, the faculty officially acknowledged in their action all that has been said above, the germ of which is in the words: "The scholar, the patriot, the Christian, has departed from among us to receive his reward. *Opus multum, Merces magna.*" And this *Opus multum*—great labor—as Horace Greeley once said of Dr. Lewis, will be better appreciated by the world at large after his death than while living. The depth of his studies and the magnitude of his aims can be comprehended now that we are inclined to look upon his labor as finished, though in reality it is destined to live very long after him. In his last years he declined to leave his home for public duties, and thus he simply presented to the Christian Alliance a paper on "The Unity of the Churches," a subject in which he took much interest. He would sometimes endeavor to attend the University convocation at Albany, and only with the greatest misgiving did he finally accept the flattering invitation to deliver one series of the "Vedder Lectures" before the faculty and students of Rutgers' College. This last public effort did him great credit; but he nerved himself to the task of travel and exertion in performing this trust with great misgivings, feeling that his feeble body would not stand the strain. But the careful companionship and attention of his wife brought him successfully through a duty the faithful performance of which he looked back to with much pleasure.

Dr. Lewis was seventy-five years of age when he died, and all the labor of his later years was produced in the midst of pain and disabilities that would have discouraged and baffled

most men. But even the distressing pains of sciatica could not entirely prohibit him from working, for with all the weakness of his body his great brain remained strong and clear; it was seemingly iron-clad, and when struck resounded with the clearest tones. Even in his last hours his thoughts were not vague, but clear and defined, so that he recognized the members of his family to the very last, and in intervals of relief from pain conversed, until his breath became a dying gasp.

We can easily imagine that the readers of this sketch will say that it is the work of the panegyrist, notwithstanding the fact that the writer has frequently restrained his pen for fear that its accents savored too much of eulogy. But he feels more than borne out in much that he has said when listening to the criticisms of others better able than he to appreciate the real depth and merit of the principal works of Dr. Lewis. Read, for instance, the following mere paragraph of a long criticism of one who studied the sage more than most of his admirers:—

> It is deeply to be regretted that the reception given to his volume on Plato—a volume too profound to be at once appreciated, too earnestly and skillfully opposed to our cherished rationalism to be warmly welcomed—was not such as to have compelled him to have given to his country the honor of the noblest exposition of the works of Plato that the world has ever seen. . . . In his volume on Plato he promises another if that work shall be acceptable to the public. Similar intimations may be found in each of the volumes he has published. But none of these works ever appeared. We sympathize with this lone thinker in great solitudes of thought, craving a little of that human sympathy which gives wings to genius and steals from time its weight. . . . The literary world has a sort of unity, but there is little unity in the scholastic and religious world. Lewis' writings, though purely scholastic, though so scholastic in their spirit as hardly to disclose to what faith he belongs, are intensely religious—more so even on scholastic and social topics than those of some divines on sacred subjects. Had he identified himself more with some one sect, and less with the Christianity common to them all, or had his zeal been less uncompromising, less ardent, less holy, his fame would have been easier and wider. . . . The years Lewis has given to his volume on creation might have produced an exposition of Platonism such as the scholastic world has vainly waited for for ages; but the volume he has written disposes of a question compared with which these debated in the schools are insignificant. We have spoken of its discoveries. We add a few words as to its literary character. Finer English has not been written. As

an argument it is a wonder of sustained power. Its tone is that of a soul which sees clearly into things mysterious, and is awed and exalted by what it sees. It is a poem in prose. The grand emotions it awakens make it a fitting comment on the wonderful vision of the creative ages. Its perfection as a work of art is not through art. Unconsciously in the mirror of his style the writer's soul is reflected.

And thus we might quote for pages, did space permit and need call for it. And still we feel it our duty to say that Dr. Lewis had his critics, who declared that much that he wrote was philosophy rather than science, and speculation rather than fact; who declared the characteristics of all his arguments to be subtilty and speculation; who acknowledge the brilliancy of his thoughts, but who question the soundness of his judgment; and who, while granting his marvelous knowledge of classic and Oriental tongues, declared that but measured confidence was to be placed in his attempts to explain the Hebrew from other tongues, cognate or not cognate.

But those who spoke thus were very few, and the testimony of classical and biblical scholars is well nigh unanimous in his favor. Thousands of Christian teachers and theological writers throughout the country regard his name with great reverence, and find in him one worthy to lead them through the story of revelation. And here we think it fitting to refer to a friendship that existed between Dr. Lewis and the editor of this "Quarterly," that was more than fraternal; and still in the flesh they had never met; it was the sympathy of kindred spirits walking in kindred paths that bound them so closely together that whatever the one wrote the other was sure to read, and, we may say, admire. For many years an occasional correspondence was maintained between them, and the pages of the "Quarterly" were ever open to all that Dr. Lewis might contribute to them. It was the sorrow rather than the fault of both that these missives were not more frequent. In the later years of Dr. Lewis' life it was the province of the writer of this sketch to be the messgae-bearer between the two on his occasional visits to New York, so that in the latter city he seldom failed to be burdened with some words from Dr. Lewis, and found the load seldom lightened on his return trip.

But we are admonished to hasten to close this article, that its length may not transcend the limits granted in these pages; and we prefer to do it at the bedside of our dying friend. We were preparing for a lengthened absence from our home, and chose an hour wherein to say farewell to one whom we knew we could not find here on our return. And that hour was very sad, though precious in its sadness because of its Christian teachings. With our hand placed in his he recounted many of the experiences that we had passed through together, and alluded to the gratifying fact that no frown had ruffled the surface of our intercourse. He spoke of his continued confidence in the religion of Christ, and remarked that he bore his own acute and lingering pain with greater resignation because Christ had suffered so much more for him. He had perfect confidence in the atoning blood of the Saviour, notwithstanding his neglected opportunities.

Dr. Lewis was a member of the Reformed Church, but he was always kindly disposed toward Methodism, and watched all its movements as a member of the Christian family. He liked the earnest character of its religious life, and its aggressive mission work, and was in his younger days very fond of our revival hymns. "O," said he then, "that I could hear some of your sweet Methodist hymns before I go!" He would have gone more exultantly to heaven could he have heard the hymns and the birds. Then, turning to the wall, he called my attention to some Scripture texts there hanging that whiled away some of his weary hours; and to these I soon added one from our Book Room, having also some of the old-fashioned Methodist hymns at the bottom of each page. As I parted from him—alas, to see him no more!—I knew that he could not hear my farewell, and I could not bear to write one; so with tearful eyes I impressed a kiss of Christian and fraternal love on his noble brow, while he pressed my hand with increased fervor. Soon after that he went where he can hear the songs of the angels, though his ears were deaf to heavenly melodies on earth.

When he died many hearts were broken, and a gloom pervaded the institution and the town, which soon extended far beyond these. The hearts of thousands of his friends and pupils throughout the land mourned the loss of one whose influence

had penetrated throughout Christendom, and those in his immediate surroundings all felt as if a friend had gone and left a great void.

Many of these hastened from distant points to be present at his funeral obsequies, and crowded in sorrow around his bier. To one of his pupils, a Presbyterian divine, was allotted the task of speaking for his fellows these last words of love and reverence before his cold form:—

> It would seem more becoming for us at this hour to stand before the honored dead, as in days gone by we have stood before the living, with our own lips sealed, and let him grandly speak to us, for the power of faith giveth endless life, and "by it he, being dead, yet speaketh."
>
> Surely this is no time or place for eulogy. It would be treason to a man who walked softly before his Maker, and who loved to repeat those lines, familiar by association with another cherished name:—
>
> "O why should the spirit of mortal be proud?"
>
> We find little temptation to indulge in panegyric, for the things that excite the world's admiration are not the things which fill our thoughts and our hearts. It is not to the scholar, whose loss two hemispheres deplore, that we bring our tribute to-day; it is to the man and the Christian, the friend, the instructor, the inspirer of our lives; and we are here to bury, not to praise him. And yet, standing before his fellow-citizens, who have loved and honored him, under the shadow of the college which has so long borrowed luster from his name, surrounded by his co-laborers in the fields of science and philosophy, by young men who felt the inspiration of his genius, and learned to venerate his fragile form, may I not allude to the crowning trait of his character and life? This is now his glory and his greatness, that above all other love he loved and feared his God. . . . In this age of irreverence and clamorous doubt we need the testimony of one who explored so widely the domain of truth, and came back to lay his dying hand on the word of God, and say, "It is all light here." . . . He no longer needs that utterance of human need and Christian faith — the last that I heard from his lips—"Pray for me." . . . The words of the man of Uz, with whom our honored friend held such high converse, and whom he so grandly interpreted, come very sweetly to our ears as we commit his mortal remains to their resting place: "I know that my Redeemer liveth."

As his coffin was lowered into the grave a simple service was repeated, and the college choir sang, "I would not live alway," and the pall-bearers deposited flowers upon it. The

came the students and faculty and family, with their tributes of flowers, until these covered the casket that contained his precious remains. And thus they left him, to sleep in a quiet vale, where all in nature is beautiful, and where the birds will sing their requiems over his tomb, while he is called to enjoy a higher existence and hear diviner songs at the throne of Him whom he so grandly interpreted.

And still one more testimonial came to his memory on the Sabbath evening of commencement week, which was made a memorial occasion by a sermon from the president of the college on the favorite text of Dr. Lewis: "I know that my Redeemer liveth." His life was presented to the students as a noble incentive to go forward and meet the future with a firm heart, trusting in Christ's guidance, that they might die as he died, in the firmest hope of a glorious resurrection.

Art. III.—THE NEW ETHICS.

System der Ethik. Dargestellt von Dr. Wilhelm Kaulich, Professor der Philosophie an der Universität zu Graz. Pp. 505. Prague: F. Tempsky. 1877.

Ethics in its true form is of very recent origin. It is true, the Greeks and Romans had what was called a science of ethics. But this was little more than a summary of practical maxims of strictly empirical character. A solid logical basis was entirely lacking. In the mediæval Christian age the field of ethics was properly regarded as a department of theology in general, while theology itself was identified with philosophy. At the Reformation this identification was broken up, and the scientific world was divided into two relatively hostile streams, the one theological, and the other purely secular. The one stream emphasized God and historical revelation, to the neglect of nature and conscience; the other magnified reason and nature, and left God and the Bible out of the account. The science of ethics fell to the secular stream, and the endeavor was made to construct a science of morality while yet ignoring the very foundations of that science. The result was that jejune affair which has so long been taught in some of our colleges under

the varying appellations of moral science, ethics, moral philosophy, etc. But recent Christian thought is fast remedying this blunder. A new ethics is being created; the science is being reconstructed, transformed, and rendered thoroughly self-consistent and Christian. Harless, Palmer, Rothe, Culmann, Calderwood, Wuttke, Gregory, have rendered great service in this direction. The latter three are among the very best works accessible to English readers.

The science of ethics as created and constructed by these men is of thoroughly Christian character. It bases the moral life upon God. It gives to conscience its true supernatural character. It gives an intelligible conception of right and wrong. It safeguards human freedom. It sets up as the goal of life the true ideal of Christian perfection. It is become a twin sister of theology, as theology itself is become an integral part of philosophy in general.

To the Arminian public it is a pleasing thought that this new ethics is based upon thoroughly Arminian principles. Creatural freedom, in the sense of discretionary ability to choose between opposite courses, and even to prefer a weaker to a stronger motive, is its very life-breath. Infringe upon this liberty, or bind up man's life in the decrees of God, and there is no longer any more possibility of morality in man than of holiness in a stone.

One of the freshest and ablest presentations of the new ethics is that of Dr. Kaulich, of the University of Grätz. We have read this work with unmingled delight. It is pleasing to find in this remote seat of learning substantially the same views of the moral life as are taught in our own Arminian schools of Evanston, Drew, and Boston.

It is our purpose in the rest of this paper to give a brief outline of some of the leading positions of Dr. Kaulich. His work, of 505 pages, consists of two equal parts, the first philosophical, the second practical. For the sake of brevity we shall let the author speak mostly in his own person. He says: Ethics sets before man a life of duties, by the fulfilling of which he is to attain to his true destination. But as man's duties are limited by his abilities, our first inquiry must be as to what are these abilities.

Popularly, man is said to consist of body and soul. But

this much is true, also, of brutes. And as man has generic differences from the brute—for example, conscience—hence we must regard him as consisting of more than body and soul. The brute receives impressions from external objects, but he gives no proof of ability to combine these impressions into generalizations. The brute gives no evidence of ability to interrupt the chain of his impressions, and to select others in their stead. But man can do both. Hence man has something which is lacking to the brute. We shall call it spirit. Hence we say, man consists of body, soul, and spirit.

How, now, are body, soul, and spirit related to each other? The body is a material form. The spirit must be essentially different: it is the seat of self-consciousness. In self-consciousness we refer impressions to our *self* as subject, and we bring past and present impressions into unity. Self-consciousness implies, therefore, the unchangeable reality and the active causality of our *self*. Hence we conclude that our self or spirit (which is the basis of self-consciousness) is a real, simple, free, causative essence, while our body is a composite, material, unfree form. In respect to his body man is rooted in the general system of nature, and is in so far subject to mechanical and necessary law. But in virtue of his spirit he is superior to nature and to natural law, and is an individual member of another world—the world of reason, in which prevails a law of reason, which law he *should* obey, but *can* violate. But the relation of body and soul is essentially different from that of body and spirit. The soul manifests no phenomena in which the body does not share. Hence we must regard it as only a higher phase of nature itself. It and the body constitute but a single individuality. Man consists, therefore, of a vital unity of a somatic soul and a spirit, the latter being the fundamental factor, and the former its actual seat and condition. The unity of body, soul, and spirit constitutes man a spiritual person.

How, now, is this person related to the law of causality? In order to answer this we must first settle two questions: Are spirit and nature conditioned or unconditioned objects? What is the nature of the union of spirit and nature? These questions are easily settled. All observation, all history, proves that the human spirit, in order to be spirit at all, needs the

help of other spirits. The infant has not the actuality, but only the potentiality, of a spirit. Left without the care, the influence, of others, it does not rise out of the sphere of mere animal life. The spirit is, therefore, a conditioned object. And as the natural part of man, the body, is subordinate to the spirit, we must conclude that it also is dependent. Now, as that which is conditioned implies necessarily that which is unconditioned, hence we are forced to ascribe reality to the idea of God. But also the union of nature and spirit in man implies the reality of a divine cause. For nature could not force the spirit to unite with it; nor could the spirit force nature, seeing that the development of the spirit is itself dependent on external influences. The union of spirit and nature must, therefore, have been effected by an external cause which is lord over nature and spirit, that is, by God himself.

Man is, therefore, a creature of God. And as every creature furnishes some evidence of the nature of God, so man, by his high endowments, does so in a very high degree. Man is an image, a reflex, of God. Hence man's nature forms a favorable starting-point for inferring the nature of God. Now, man is free; hence God is free. Man acts toward an end; he has a purpose; hence God also acts for an end. Hence in creating man God had a purpose. This purpose must be either that man should *be* something, or that he should *become* something, or both. Consciousness and experience force us to the conclusion that it is both. Consciousness also indicates that the prime characteristic of man is freedom. It is in virtue of freedom that man is able to reach his goal, and that the reaching of this goal can be placed before man as a duty. In order, therefore, to a true comprehension of the nature of man, and of his life-task, it is, first of all, essential that we get a true conception of human freedom.

Let us attempt this. And first, what is the relation of thought to volition? It is plain that the will goes out to no object without this object having been first *in* our thoughts. Hence the contents of our thoughts may be said to influence volition. And these contents, even when partially forgotten, have also some influence. But this influence cannot be regarded as causative in an efficient sense, otherwise the very

essence of freedom would be sacrificed. We must, therefore, insist that the will is relatively independent of our thoughts. The objects of thought do not *determine* our volitions. The volitionating subject is able to select among the objects before his mind, and to make any one of them, to the exclusion of all the others, the goal of his efforts. Preliminarily, therefore, we may define freedom as that power whereby a creature absolutely selects for himself the goal of his endeavors.

Here we must distinguish between *absolute* and *relative* freedom. The selected goal of action may either be *created* by the subject who chooses it, or it may be simply *elected*. The former is absolute freedom, and belongs to God alone; the latter is relative freedom, and belongs to the creature. Man, in fact, selects his goal from among the realistically *given* relations and objects by which he finds himself surrounded. The relative freedom of the creature is further limited by the ability of the subject. The creatural will *might* select a goal which it is essentially unable to reach.

Further, as every free creature stands by virtue of its creation in definite relations to God and its fellow-creatures, and as every activity of the creature produces some change in itself, hence the creature is able by its freedom to put itself into a different attitude toward God and the world. It is, therefore, not bound or forced by any inner necessity. And, on the other hand, as also the external objects of thought do not causatively determine its volitions, hence the free creature is superior both to internal and to external constraint.

Nor is it enough to declare that moral freedom consists in the ability constantly to will the good, so that only he should be regarded as truly free who uniformly wills the good, and labors toward its realization. Freedom consists not simply in the ability to act in *one* direction, but also in the opposite direction. The free creature can just as really will and do the evil as the good, for it has the ability *arbitrarily* to select the goal of its endeavors from *any* of the objects which present themselves to its senses or its imagination. The power of free choice is, therefore, the ultimate cause of the selection and pursuit of whatever life-course the creature actually enters upon. *The logical admission of moral freedom involves, therefore, the admission of an absolutely new beginning.*

And solely because the free creature is an ultimate cause can the responsibility for its acts be thrown upon *it*, and not upon its Creator. The responsibility cannot be thrown upon God, for the simple reason that the original nature of the creature was so constituted as that the creature by that simple fact *was* a first cause of courses of action. God is, therefore, in no sense whatever responsible for the choices of the free creature. Hence appears at once the absurdity of saying that God ought not to have created *such* beings as he foresaw would abuse their liberty; for this would really preclude the creation of any free beings at all, since it follows from the very idea of a free being that nothing outside of its own self can assure its not sinning.

The correctness of this view is amply illustrated by the practice of civil justice, which holds the *person himself* responsible for his acts, as also by our conscience, which condemns, not God, but *us*, for our sins.

We may further define the nature of freedom thus: Every phenomenon of a substance is a revelation of an essential element in that substance. Now, some of the phenomena of a free creature relate to the ontological essence of the creature, and may, therefore, be called ontological. Others relate to the selecting of ends, and hence may be called teleological. The former class lie outside of the sphere of freedom; they take place with the same kind of necessity whereby a seed reproduces its own kind. Freedom is, therefore, confined to the latter class. Hence we may additionally define freedom as that quality of the essence of a moral creature by virtue of which it is capable of being the first cause of the teleological phase of its acts and life.

Now, as the true teleological drift of a moral creature's life consists in the pursuit of perfection through love to God and man, hence we are entitled to hold that the free creature is able to *be* the final, the real, cause of this teleological consummation. And it is precisely in this ability that lies the great likeness of man to God. The free creature is called by God to be a co-creator of its own perfection, seeing that it is called to freely realize its own ideal. And as the perfection of a single creature is a contribution to the perfection of the universe, hence we may say that the rational free creature is

called to be a co-creator not only of itself, but also of the entire cosmos.

In virtue of its freedom, accordingly, the moral creature is able to seek its perfection and bliss by striving to enter into harmony with other creatures and with God; and the actual success of such striving will depend upon how correctly the creature conforms to the objective conditions of its existence. In any case, however, it is itself the founder of its own fruition and perfection, or their opposite.

The conception of moral freedom thus attained entitles us to further inferences. And, firstly, in respect to personal identity. If freedom implies that we are the actual cause of our life-course, then it implies the sameness of this cause in our successive actions, seeing that the life-course is itself a unit. Freedom is, in fact, simply the continuous expression of the unity and sameness of the moral actor in his relations to other beings. Again: the subject, in virtue of self-consciousness, knows himself as a reality, not as a cause; but this would be impossible in the absence of real freedom. For if freedom were lacking, then the process of thought would be of the character of necessity, and the subject would not be conscious of an ability to break in upon it, and direct his attention to one train of thought to the exclusion of others. The consciousness of being a cause involves, therefore, the *reality* of freedom. Hence, if freedom were not a fact, then there could be no possible ground for the thought of causation. Self-consciousness and freedom are, therefore, the mutual conditions of each other. Hence a self-conscious being is necessarily a free one; and a free one is necessarily a self-conscious one.

The freedom of the creature is at first an absolute, discretionary power to choose between different courses of life. But it cannot possibly remain in this condition of indifference. For the effect of the very first teleological choice is to impress a *degree* of character upon the actor. In consequence of this first decision, therefore, any subsequent decision in the same direction is rendered more easy than the first. And at the goal of the teleological development, that is, at the full attainment of the two solely possible courses of development—that toward God, and that toward evil—the determination of

character becomes so definite and positive as to exclude the possibility of a choice between moral opposites. That is to say, our *discretionary* freedom rises through the development of character to the stage of *moral* freedom. This stage of freedom has in one sense the character of necessity. By virtue of the perfectness of the character the free being *will* always will in rational harmony with its moral character. The necessity is, therefore, moral, and not mechanical.

Accordingly, it is the free being himself who is the efficient cause of his own maturity in good or maturity in evil. And any system of theology which should place this efficient cause in any thing else than the creature, as, for example, in the abundance of divine grace with the righteous, and in its lack with the sinner, would be not only philosophically absurd, but also blasphemously immoral, for it would make God, and not man, responsible for the moral differences between good and bad men. For whatever system makes God the efficient cause of the moral good in good men, logically implies that he is also the efficient cause of the moral evil in bad men.

From the fact that the free actions of the rational creature are affected both by the selected object of action and by the objective nature of the subject and his relations to other beings, it follows that the life of a rational creature will be free from antagonism with other beings only when it flows in harmony with, and respects the objective relations of, other existences. Now, these objective relations are the expression of the divine creative action and will, and are hence a revelation of the teleological destination of the creature. Hence it is through the divine will that both the goal of man is placed before him, and also the limits are fixed within which his free actions can freely attain to that goal. As soon as the free being awakens to a true consciousness of itself, it must also become conscious of this obligatory goal of its life, and it can refer the external will which confronts it in the relations of its existence to no other being than to that First Cause to which the finiteness of its own nature forces it to attribute its own creation. With the same necessity, therefore, by which it is forced to attribute its own existence to the divine will, it is also forced to accept the teleological significance of its objective condition and relations as the direct and *bin ing* expression of the divine will.

To the mind of the rational creature there are present, therefore, these two thoughts: (1.) The dependence of the creature for its existence and for the true goal of its life upon God; and, (2,) the subjective freedom of the creature in the face of this life-goal. Its goal is *before* it; its freedom is *within* it. The two things confront each other, and furnish the possibility of an antagonism. For by virtue of its freedom the creature *may* choose to exercise its freedom otherwise than in affirming its objective relations. It may will to will the attainment of the God-set goal, *or* it may will to will arbitrarily, and hence sinfully.

But the recognized dependence of the creature on God furnishes ample reason why the creature should regard the fulfilling of its objective relations as a higher goal than the asserting of its ability to volitionate arbitrarily and selfishly. And to this higher goal the moral consciousness gives its emphatic affirmation. Furthermore, when the creature wills to fulfill not its own arbitrary will, but God's will, and when it, as a result, comes into communion with God and all that is godlike, the necessary consequence is complete harmony of existence, both inner and outer. This harmony of nature is *truthfulness*. The means of effecting it is voluntary self-subordination to God's will, that is, it is *humility*. And humility in action is *obedience*. And the sole influential motive to this giving up of one's own arbitrary will for God's will can only be our desire to become a realized idea of God; that is, to become an object of absolute worth, and hence a witness to God's power and goodness in view of honoring God. In a single word, our influencing motive can be simply *love* to God. And the development of these four cardinal virtues to their full maturity constitutes the state of moral perfection, and leads to the exaltation of our arbitrary freedom from the state of being able to choose the evil into a state in which it is no longer morally possible for us to choose any thing but the good.

For the result of active obedience to God is *permanence of character like God*. From this harmony of character with God ensue directly both peace and bliss. And this bliss will unquestionably flow largely from our consciousness of having, by a right use of our freedom, been a co-worker with God both in our own perfection and in the perfecting of the cosmos.

And with the full development of our character like God will also be enlarged our intellectual horizon. So that ultimately faith will be swallowed up in sight: believing and seeing and knowing will be but one. And this absolute correctness of knowledge will be an additional reason, over and above the fixedness of our character, why we never shall by any rational possibility fall away from the good.

But when, on the contrary, the rational creature makes its own individual will the chief thing, when it makes its own independence upon God its chief motive, when it undertakes, apart from God, to be the first cause of its own happiness, then the harmony of existence is radically disturbed, both subjectively and objectively. The consequent attitude of the creature is necessarily a false one; for its subjective endeavor is in contradiction to its objective creative idea. While objectively planned for God, the creature ignores this relation, and makes its whole course of life a self-deception and a lie. It undertakes to be equal to God, and to suffice for its own bliss. Thereby it radically darkens its own judgment and reason. Its self-delusion gives birth to *pride*. It revolts against God. And because in this revolt it meets with obstacles, and is defeated in its clash with its objective divinely established surroundings, hence it is filled with *hate* against God. In the blindness of this unhappiness and hate it is unwilling to locate its misfortune in its true source, namely, its own revolt against reason and God, but it attributes it to its objective environment; hence it hates both God and all that is like God.

The collective state of the rebellious creature is expressed in the one word selfishness. And selfishness leads to all social disorder. In its effort to create its own happiness it enters into relations with other creatures. But its motive is not real love. It does not love its fellows in God, but only as means to its own happiness. It aims to subordinate others to itself. It becomes a tyrant, an oppressor. The result is injustice and all unrighteousness. And the consequence is, that the creature falls into antagonism to its own self, to God, and to the universe. And the constant consciousness of this antagonism is the foundation of the sinner's wretchedness. The progress of revolt against God leads to definitive and irremediable diabolicity of character. It is the left-hand goal of moral action,

even as the impeccable condition of the perfected saint is the right-hand goal. And, by the inherent nature of things, all moral beings must, sooner or later, land in one of these goals.

What we have thus far said relates to freedom simply in a general way. But how stands the matter when we come to examine empirical man as we find him in experience? Our general position is, that both in the theoretical and in the practical fields the reality of freedom of choice between opposites is an unquestionable *fact*. What, now, are the reasons that force us to accept this fact? In order to an answer let us analyze an action, say, a free action directed toward an outer object. Here, obviously, the muscles must be employed. This implies an exertion of force. And this exertion is in view of a more or less clear conception of the object. Without this conception there would be no exertion toward the object, no outgoing of will. The exertion of the will and the exertion of the force are but phases of the same thing. Both take place in view of the object. But the idea of the object is not the action of the will; nor does this idea, nor any combination of ideas, directly generate an action of the will. Still, they stand in close relation to the action of the will; they furnish the occasion in view of which the will puts forth its action. They do not directly *cause* the will to act; otherwise the action were a mere mechanism, and there were no play-room for freedom. Just here lies the difference between man and the brute. The brute gives no evidence of ability to resist the force of motives. Hence we call it unfree. It follows uniformly the attraction of its impressions. But man is able to turn his attention away from one train of impressions and to another. He can interrupt the attractive force of tempting objects. Thereby he can bring himself to will a lower instead of a higher, a smaller instead of a greater, object. This power of turning the attention is an expression of man's spiritual power. Thereby he shows himself a supernatural being; that is, he is able to resist the attraction of external objects. Thus, freedom may be said to be that power of a rational spirit whereby it is able to be to itself the cause of its own actions, independently of outer influences.

But though independent of *outer* influences, may not the action of the will be dependent upon *inner* influences? Do not

our recollected impressions determine the particular course to which we turn our attention? Also here the voice of consciousness answers in the negative. We are able not only to resist one current of recollected impressions and turn to another, but we are able at discretion to generate a fresh combination even of pure imaginations, and to follow these in preference to real impressions. Freedom, therefore, consists in an independence both of outer and of inner impressions and motives. It is the ability to select at discretion any or every, real or imaginary, object of pursuit.

But the independence of the free spirit goes still further. An object may tempt our power of action, and yet the action itself not follow. All conceivable objects may tempt, and yet the will be absolutely inactive. No action *need* take place. The action takes place only when the spirit consents.

From this it follows that all outward voluntary activity rests upon inner freedom, without which such action were inconceivable. This inner freedom is one of the very clearest facts of the general consciousness. However much, therefore, man may be limited by circumstances, by his physical ability, his relations to the world, etc., he is yet inwardly free, and by this freedom he is as much distinguished from the brute as by self-consciousness and by speculative thought.

As sensuous perception is connected with voluntary desire, so is also all volitional action connected with thought. In fact, thought is the very first field in which freedom manifests itself. Thinking is a voluntary exercise. Its characteristic is the ability of affirmation and negation. Every object which presents itself to thought may be accepted or dismissed. Herein consists the power of turning the attention. By confining the attention to one train of connected impressions or ideas, we are able to discover the causal relation of objects. This gives rise to knowledge, for knowledge consists in the perceived relations of ideas and things. The impressions of objects are objectively *forced* upon us; the ordering of these single impressions into generic relations is the voluntary work of the will. These relations are discoverable only by turning the attention forward and backward along a chain of objects; but this calls for freedom in the power that directs the attention. Thus we find a new confirmation of man's freedom in his

ability to break through, or resist, or resume again, a chain of successive impressions or ideas. For if we did not possess this power, then we should be the absolute slaves of the law of association of ideas. Then the strongest impressions would dynamically seize and absolutely hold our attention. We should be as passive as the crystal in receiving and transmitting the light. We should simply receive the first impressions that came; but we could not dismiss them, or select them, or call up others in their place. But as we *can* do this, we infer that we *are* free.

But the clearest proof of our real freedom lies in our direct consciousness. We attribute our actions to *ourselves*, as their *cause*. Upon this is based all punishment, all repentance, all remorse.

But the freedom of man is not creative, but only *creatural* freedom. For man does not objectively posit the goal of his endeavor, but he selects it from among objects that are objectively given. Nor do we act without the occasioning interest of some objectively given consideration, though we are free to follow a higher or a lower interest. Nor do we, further, volitionate effectively save in so far as we act in reference to the objective realities of the world about us. In all these three respects, therefore, our freedom, though essential and real, is yet different from the freedom of God. It is creatural freedom.

God's freedom is absolute and self-sufficient. It is confronted with no object of desire outside of itself. It does not have to reconcile itself with reason; for it is, *per se*, essentially at one with absolute wisdom and holiness. In the absolute goodness of the actuality of the divine will it is transcendent above all the limitations which necessarily characterize all creatural freedom.

The conditionality of human freedom is very manifest in the failure of many of its endeavors. It may, for example, undertake a task beyond human strength. It may select wrong means to reach its end. It may be thwarted by the unforeseen opposition of other free wills. Thus the limitations of human freedom are in strict accord with the limitations of human nature in general.

We now pass to another phase of the discussion of freedom. It is clear that the ideal state of man would be that in which

every individual should uniformly will in harmony with his ideal. But this is far from the actual fact. On the contrary, we uniformly observe a tendency to go astray from this ideal. This is seen in individuals, in families, in nations, in the race. And even with the best of men there is occasional wavering. The clear inference from this is, that man is at present in an abnormal condition. The sole solution of this riddle is found in the facts of the fall of man and in redemption.

But how is the fall of man to be understood? Basing ourselves upon the revealed *fact*, it can be construed only as follows: Man at creation was *good*, not ethically or morally, but *naturally* good. But by his very idea he stood under the immediate necessity of rising from a natural to a moral state, be it good or bad; for he could not act without using his freedom, and he had to use this freedom either in harmony or in disharmony with his true goal of life. In whichever way he started out he would at once, by the very fact of his decision, impress upon his whole being a state of decisiveness which would be determinative of his entire future life-course and character. The actual event proved to be the abnormal choice and the abnormal character. By the fact of his sinful choice the head of the race impressed upon human nature in general a determination to evil. This determination is of the nature of a bent, or proclivity, or proneness, or habituation, or character, of so decisive a nature as to render it infinitely improbable that he who once has it will ever succeed in his own strength in shuffling it off, or even in resisting its downward tendency. With the person who first generated this character in himself, it had the *two*fold nature of personal guilt, and an objective enslavement of his higher powers to his lower ones. That is, he was both guilty, and he was a slave to the mere psychic phase of his being—to appetite, to passion, and to objective nature. But with the posterity of this first sinful man it had only *one* of these elements. It was no longer guilt, but only an objective enslavement to downward tendencies. The descendants of Adam were not guilty of depravity, but they *were* depraved. That depravity was not their work, but it was forced upon them by others. Nevertheless, it was a fearful fact. And by that simple fact they stood at the very first moment of their personal existence under a dire inevitability of consenting

to this depravity, and thus stamping their *natal misfortune* with the character of *personal guilt.*

The necessary counterpart of this inherited depravity is a freely furnished redemption. The necessary correlate of the depravity that is *put upon us* from without is furnished by a redemption that is freely put within our grasp. Apart from a freely offered redemption, a just Creator would not, could not, have permitted the propagation of the human race. And the effect of redemption is simply to produce an equilibrium against the downward tendency of depravity. So that in virtue of freely offered and urged redemption, the children of Adam, though depraved, are yet, *all of them*, enabled, 1, triumphantly to resist sin, and, 2, freely to elect that course of life which will eventuate in generating within the soul a perfectly holy character; and hence, 3, in finally eliminating the last vestiges of depravity from its nature, as also, 4, in giving to its nature such a drift toward God and all good as will effectually preclude the practicability of falling again into evil.

It is solely in this doctrine of the correlation of depravity and redemption that the so-called riddles and enigmas of human life are explicable. And the key to every rational explanation is the recognition of the true nature of creatural freedom, namely, as the ability to select, at discretion, a lower instead of a higher, or a higher instead of a lower, good. For it is perfectly easy to see how that man, having such liberty, should and does lead the partially good or bad, the inconsistent and imperfect life, which is too often presented in society.

Such is a meager abstract of Dr. Kaulich's elaborate discussion of the nature of creatural freedom. Of other features of his system we have space for but very brief notice.

What the nature of the moral law is in Kaulich's system might be easily inferred from what we have already said. In this point, as in most others, he is essentially in harmony with Wuttke and Gregory. He holds that the moral law is simply the formulated expression of the nature of man and of his relations; in other words, it is a reflex of the creative purpose of God in constituting man as man. And this is the same as saying that it is the expression of the divine will. Right is, therefore, conformity to the will of God. And the old puzzle: Is a thing right because God wills it, or does God will it because

it is right? loses all its force. Both alternates are true when properly guarded. By the very making of moral creatures God establishes relations between himself and his creatures; and the observing of these relations is to do right. But why he made these relations such as they are lies exclusively in divine reason as expressed in the creative will.

And the great question as to the moral motive is now very readily settled. A motive is the end we aim at in moral action. There are various ends which we may select, such as sensual pleasure, unrighteous power, selfish self-exaltation, or ideal moral perfection, some of them in conflict with the ideal goal of life, and only one of them in harmony with it. Which motive is the binding one? Evidently only the latter, namely, the pursuit of ideal moral perfection.

But what is included in this pursuit? And what are the conditions of its attainment? One answer will meet both questions, namely, a conforming of our lives to the objective facts of the universe. Now, what are these facts? They are these: That there is an infinite personal rational Being, the Creator of all things; that whatever he makes is good, and whatever he does is right; that because of God's infinite wisdom, whatever he makes is made for a purpose; and that, consequently, every single object in the universe has a right to exist for its particular purpose, and no other object has a right to infringe upon it. A conformity to the objective facts of the universe, consequently, would include this: That each rational being recognizes its dependence upon God, respects the rights of all other creatures of God, and freely accepts, with the heart, its life-goal, or task, as expressed by the facts of its nature. And as the facts of its nature further imply that the moral creature is, by the very nature of morality, called to be a co-worker with God in the full maturing of its ideal character, as, also, in the up-building of its brother-creatures, hence, the conforming of our lives to the objective facts of the universe, in other words, the seeking of our ideal moral perfection, consists in submissively devoting ourselves to God. But devotion to God includes devotion to his person, and devotion to all the creatures of God, to the measure of our ability. This, then, is *the* moral motive—unselfishly to devote ourselves to God and to all the creatures or works of God.

Now, *among* these creatures or works of God is the personal self of the moral agent. Does the moral motive permit the moral agent to have respect to his own personal good? Is he not required to be *absolutely disinterested?* The properly guarded answer to this question will furnish the rational mid-course between two erroneous extremes which have, turn by turn, corrupted the fundamental principle of ethics ever since ethics has claimed to be a science.

How shall we answer it? Dr. Kaulich gives the properly guarded answer. It is thus: Man is under obligation to love God and all God's works. He himself is a work of God, therefore he is obliged to love himself. It would be as wrong for him to not love his neighbor as to not love himself. But this love to self must correspond to the objective facts of the universe. It must keep within proper bounds; that is, it must be truthful. It must observe a proper proportion. Man and his neighbor are absolutely equal. Therefore a man must love himself *as* his neighbor, not more and not less; and he must love his neighbor as himself, not more and not less. This is the golden formula. This is the antidote, on the one hand, to the impossible, transcendent, unrational, pretended disinterestedness of the ethics of Kant, and, on the other, to the flat eudemonistic ethics of the utilitarian school. Man has not a right to aim exclusively at personal happiness, but he also has no right to ignore that happiness. He is under a categorical imperative to realize his own ideal. This ideal consists in a holy character, which loves God and all that is God's. The subjective fruit of this character is bliss, happiness. And the constitution of the world is such that this happiness vanishes just so soon as it is made a *direct* object of *main* pursuit. It is a *fruit* of a God-consecrated life. But it is a foreknown fruit: he who loves God and his neighbor *knows* that he is on the way to personal happiness. If he were even to try to do so, he could not shut this fact out of his knowledge. But may he act in reference to it? He may not act in reference to it exclusively. But he should and must act in reference to the *whole* truth; and a *part* of the truth is, that a godly life *procures* happiness. He may and ought to act in reference to the whole truth of his life and destiny. It is, therefore, only a half-truth to say that man's morality is worthless unless it be

wholly disinterested; as it is, also, only a half-truth to say that the end of the moral life is personal happiness. Put the two half-truths together, and we have the whole truth. Man is to lead such a life as will, in fact, result in the greatest happiness to the greatest number, but he himself is, and must be, one of this number. Man may have respect unto the rewards of virtue, without yet in the least tarnishing that virtue. Man may aim at personal happiness, but only as a *part* of his generic aim to be an ideal child of God. Thus guarded, this aim will never turn into selfishness, and will never collide with the happiness of others; for it will be but a part of the whole, and the whole will be an aim to love God with undivided heart, and to produce the greatest good to the whole circle of God's creatures.

Such are a few of the fundamental principles upon which this elaborate system of ethics is based. And the superstructure corresponds with the foundations. The practical part of the book is especially replete with rich wisdom, and with an abundance of concrete examples from life. It is especially gratifying to us, Arminians, to meet with such a thorough indorsement and defense of the freedom of the will from one who is not of our theological school. We heartily commend the work to all students of ethics.

Art. IV.—PLAGIARISM AND THE LAW OF QUOTATION.*

[FIRST PAPER.]

A PLAGIARIST, according to Webster, is: "A thief in literature; one who purloins another's writings, and offers them to the public as his own." We are told by another authority that "among the Romans a plagiarist was properly a person who bought, sold, or retained a freeman for a slave, and was so called because by the Flavian law such persons were con-

* It is the purpose of these articles to bring together the literature of this subject. The writer has avoided, as far as possible, exposing himself to the imputation of plagiarizing on the subject of plagiarism. He is necessarily indebted for his facts to a host of authors. He has acknowledged them as far as it was a possibility. More than this is not demanded by the highest literary honor.

demned *ad plagas* to be whipped." In the modern sense it means one who uses in any way as his own the thoughts or words of another. According to Chancellor Haven, (see "Rhetoric," p. 314,) "Plagiarism is the stealing of the expressions, and especially the written productions, of another person, and passing them off as original." This definition is qualified, and we think somewhat weakened, as follows: "At the same time, thoughts first expressed by another, facts related by him, may be used without plagiarism." (*Ib.*, p. 314.) Again: "There may be original combination and application of old material." In this definition and the subsequent comments the door is first closely shut and firmly bolted, then the bolts are drawn back, the door thrown widely open, the thief politely ushered in, and then as deferentially bowed out. There is hardly a literary theft which these weakening qualifications will not excuse or justify.

The Chancellor, however, is in good company. Johnson teaches with an authoritativeness which, in view of his prestige as a herculean *litterateur*, a modern critic will be slow to dissent from, that "The author who only imitates his predecessors by furnishing himself with thoughts and elegances out of the same general magazine of literature can with little more propriety be reproached as a plagiary than the architect can be censured as a mean copier of Angelo or Wren because he digs his marble from the same quarry, squares his stones by the same art, and unites them in columns of the same order."—"Rambler," No. 143. *

It is obvious that in proportion to their accuracy all definitions and descriptions must be alike. The metamorphoses of mythology are the common property of scholars the world over. He who alludes to them, or who weaves their details into his story or song, only resembles some predecessor from whom a carping criticism may have said he purloined. The passage of Orpheus to hell and the second loss of Eurydice have been described by Pope after Boetius, and yet the description is not an imitation of Boetius, or a theft, any more

* "When we are praising Plato, it seems we are praising quotations from Solon, and Sophron, and Philolaus. Be it so. Every book is a quotation; and every house is a quotation out of all forests, and mines, and stone quarries; and every man is a quotation from all his ancestors."—Emerson's "Rep. Men," p. 46.

than a picture of the same event by different artists is a theft. When N. P. Willis says,

> "The aged pilgrim, ere he lays him down,
> Prays for a moment's lulling of the blast,
> A little time to wind his cloak about him,
> And smooth his gray hairs, decently to die,"

he reminds us of Bryant, who, in his "Thanatopsis," bids us approach the grave—

> "Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch
> About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

But it does not follow that the one is the copyist of the other.

Without in the least intending to deny the disgraceful prevalence of the meaner forms of plagiarism, or in any way detracting from its enormity, we venture to affirm that it is one of the penalties of authorship that charges of plagiarism have inevitably to be met in some form or other. A professional critic of some talent, called Lauder, once brought the charge of plagiarism against Milton with great minuteness of detail. He alleged that he had found the *prima stamnia* of "Paradise Lost" in "*Adamus Exul*," a tragedy by Grotius. "The ingenious critic," says an anonymous paper on Printed Forgeries in "Household Words," "rendered the admirers of Milton very uncomfortable, until the appearance of a pamphlet by Rev. John Douglas, who had a very simple but very convincing story to tell. In the year 1690, it appears, there was printed in London a Latin translation of the 'Paradise Lost,' 'Paradise Regained,' and 'Samson Agonistes,' by one Hogaeus, as he called himself on the title-page, or Hogg, as he was probably known by his personal friends. And, further, it was very plainly proved that the greater portion of the passages cited by Mr. Lauder were not quotations from Masenius Grotius, but from the very intelligent translation, by Hogaeus, of Milton himself! The striking and frequently literal resemblance between these quotations and passages in Milton's work may thus be easily conceived. In cases where Mr. Lauder had not availed himself of Hogaeus, he had not scrupled to interpolate and manufacture whole passages, which never had any existence in the writing of the authors from whom he pretended to quote.

"Whatever doubt might exist after Mr. Douglas' very valuable pamphlet with regard to the entire falsity of the charges brought against Milton, it was speedily set at rest by Mr. Lauder himself, in 'An Apology' which he 'most humbly addressed' to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1751, wherein he makes an abject confession of his fraud."

A writer in "Notes and Queries" has labored to prove that the germ of Addison's "Vision of Mirza" was to be found in Erasmus' "Colloquies," but it only needs a careful reading of the passages cited from each to see that the charge has not the slightest foundation in fact. So in a review of the "Life of Wordsworth," it is charged that Wordsworth borrowed broadly and clumsily from the magnificent couplet in which Gray depicts the overflowing of the Nile under the figure of a brooding bird. Thus Gray:—

> "From his broad bosom life and verdure flings,
> And broods o'er Egypt with his watery wings."

Wordsworth, in alluding to the "mighty stream" of the French Revolution, invokes it to

> "Brood o'er the long-parched lands with Nile-like wings."

The reviewer asks, with a hypercriticism positively amusing, "What mind could extemporize for itself the noble image of Gray?" We venture the answer, that Wordsworth achieved, in the very instance adduced, what the critic deemed to be an impossibility. It is somewhat amusing that the author who brings this charge extenuates all such offenses, so far as Wordsworth is concerned, by intimating that "he borrowed but little," and then robs the extenuation of all its force by charging that he took "more from Milton than from any one else."

In 1851 there appeared in this review a *résumé* of "The Life and Works of Sir Thomas Browne." The writer quotes, with high admiration, a passage from Sir Thomas, of which these are the opening lines: ". . . There is music in the silent note which Cupid strikes, far sweeter than the sound of an instrument. For there is music wheresoever there is a harmony, order, or proportion; and thus far we maintain the music of the spheres; for those well-ordered motions and regular paces,

though they give no sound to the ear, yet to the understanding they strike a note most full of harmony." We have not space for the entire passage, which rises in eloquence to the end. After a glowing and impassioned eulogy on the majesty and devoutness of the author's figures, the writer inquires: "Where but from this remarkable passage did Addison get the thought contained in his paraphrase of the Nineteenth Psalm—

"'The spacious firmament on high,' etc.?

And where, if not from this noble passage, did Bushnell catch the inspiration of the most eloquent passage in his 'Work and Play?'" Bushnell's address was delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa at Cambridge, in 1848. The portion of the address thus put under the scalpel may be found upon the twenty-eighth page. "The resemblance, however," says a defender of our countryman, "is one of kindred, and not at all of imitation. Though we think the knight assisted the orator, yet it was only as the sun helps the earth to bring forth and mature her natural products. Though the spark came from the flint of the physician, it fell upon appropriate fuel in the genius of the preacher. The fire is doubtless the same, but the flames differ in shape and intensity." The writer of this article playfully asked Dr. Bushnell, "Where," etc. He said, "Not from Sir Thomas Browne, I am sure, but from watching a kitten play." In like manner, no doubt, Addison was free from all obligation save to the stars, which he saw as well as did Sir Thomas Browne, noiselessly and harmoniously walking in brightness through those heavens which have given kindred inspiration to the physicians, poets, and orators of all lands.

Obligation to preceding or contemporary writers is by no means incompatible with originality. The Ettrick Shepherd shrewdly intimates that, according to the ideas of some, there is no originality unless we "first read all the books that ever were written, and then write something that was not in any of them." Coleridge has been charged with appropriating the ideas of Lessing, and some have stoutly maintained that his Shakspearean criticisms were based on the lectures of Schlegel. That the views of Lessing affected the thought, and even had an influence on the language of Coleridge, there can be no

doubt; but there is nothing in that to impair his title to originality. As to the supposed plagiarism from Schlegel, Mrs. Coleridge has shown most conclusively that the lectures of Schlegel did not appear until Coleridge had developed his views publicly in England many times. They both started from the same point in their investigations, and both had access to the labors of the same precursors. It is no wonder, therefore, that they wrote and lectured alike.

All literary men are subject to what may be called unconscious reminiscences. They cannot always be conscious of the source of their own thoughts. The warp may be their own—in form and fact self-originated—but the woof may be a contribution from the ample, well-filled storehouse of memory. Pascal made a constant and instant record of the movements of his own mind, yet his "Pensées" are by no means original. Pope, when he gives us as his own one of Rochefoucauld's maxims, was, without doubt, a victim of unconscious recollection. It requires not only more than the average literary honesty, but also scrupulous care, such as few are willing to impose upon themselves, to avoid giving their reminiscences as forms of original thought. Gilman, in his "Life of Coleridge," says that memory is of two kinds, "passive" and "creative," the first retaining the names of things, figures, and numbers; while with the other we recall facts and theories. There can be no valid objection brought against the use of the memory when it is in its creative mood. In reading, some are like a dog drinking from a river as he runs:—

"Secut canis ad Nilam bitens et fugiens."

Others are more industrious and methodical. They say, as did old Ancillo:—

"Aurum ex stercore Eunii colligo."

And if they wash their auriferous treasures, or, what would be better, purify them in the fire of their own assimilating intellect, they may profitably beat them out for ornament, or stamp them for vulgar currency. It is said of Frederick W. Robertson, that his retentive memory made him a sort of *synopsis criticorum;* and we say, Happy is the man who has such a memory. Still, the avowal of the fact that what we write is

reminiscences is not an absolute guarantee of literary honesty, for the reminiscences themselves may be stolen. It has been charged on Lord Holland that in his "Foreign Reminiscences," edited by his son, and published in London, in 1850, he plagiarized many of his anecdotes from Blanco White, who had been his tutor, and who published certain letters about Spain under the ingenious *alias* of Don Leucadio Doblado, though those anecdotes were, *ex facie*, the most worthless part of White's book.

When alleged plagiarisms do not go beyond reminiscences they are only innocent blemishes. We cannot judge Alexander Smith harshly because he had read, and doubtless remembered, much of Tennyson. His exuberance of expression, his subtlety in the use of similes, secures him his pedestal in the Pantheon of true poets, and places upon his young brow a crown of laurel which the impudent and impotent assaults of ferocious critics have so far failed to destroy. We lament his early and comparatively unnoticed death. The aspersions on his originality are a disgrace to the guild of literary criticism. A rival hand has seen fit to make out a list of petty larcenies against him. Those competent to sift evidence have traversed the list, and dismissed the charge. The accuser—false accuser, we do not hesitate to call him—has had the unenviable satisfaction of knowing that his injustice shortened the days of as loving and tender a spirit as ever aspired to poetical fame. We think that there is even injustice in the patronizing extenuation, that his first book "was assimilative to an unwarrantable degree." If he is measured, as we contend all fledgling authors ought to be, by the number and splendor of the new expressions he gives to thought, both old and new, then he stands upon a pedestal as lofty as that assigned to either Byron or Shelley.

There is keen irony in the intimation of "Punch," when noticing what the "Athenæum" is pleased to call its exposure of the plagiarisms of this young poet, that Mr. S. was "left without the faintest rag of reputation." It gives an array of proof, the value of which we can judge by the following:—

In Mr. Smith's "City Poems" he says:—

"And *bees* are *busy* in the yellow hive."

What says Dr. Watts?—

"How doth the *busy, busy bee*? . . ."

Mr. Smith:—

"*Night* and the *moon* above."

Latin Dilectus:—

"*Nox* erat, *lunar*que fulgebat."

Mr. Smith:—

"*Earth* gives her slow *consent*."

Old Hundredth Psalm:—

"With one *consent* let all the *earth*."

Mr. Smith:—

"Each *star* that, *twinkling* in the sky."

Original Poems for Infant Minds:—

"*Twinkle, twinkle*, little star. . . ."

Mr. Smith:—

"*Cradled* on yonder lofty *pine*."

Nursery Song:—

"Hush-a-by, baby, *on the tree top;*
When the wind blows the *cradle* will rock."

After such "damning proof" as this we do not wonder that "Punch" says, "There is not a single word in all Mr. Smith's poetry that has not been previously used by somebody else."

Parallel passages of the most remarkable similitude can be adduced from authors to whom the suspicion of plagiarism can hardly be attached. When Longfellow, in his "Hyperion," says: "In this world a man must be either anvil or hammer," he was anticipated by a writer in "Fraser's Magazine," who, in 1838, sang:—

"Thou must either serve or govern,
Must be slave, or must be sovereign;
Must, in fine, be block or wedge,
Must be anvil, or be sledge."

This is only a parallelism. Victor Hugo runs parallel with both when he says in "Fantine:" "My choice is made; I must eat or be eaten, and I choose to eat. It is better to be the tooth than the grass. Such is my philosophy."

I find Shelley singing of

> "Many an antenatal tomb,
> Where butterflies dream of the life to come."

Southey, in the same line of thought, when speaking of our sense of flying in our sleep, tells us that it may be a "forefeeling of an unevolved power, like an Aurelias' dream of butterfly motion." This is almost proof positive that the same thought may occur to two independent thinkers, and that they may clothe it in similar verbiage. A similar parallelism occurs between Dryden and Byron. The latter says to the ocean:—

> "E'er from out thy slime
> The monsters of the deep are formed."

So Dryden:—

> "Yet monsters from thy large increase we find,
> Engendered in the slime thou leavest behind."

Montaigne can be traced through all literature. It has been asserted that even Shakspeare profited by his "*Essais.*" The charge, however, cannot be successfully maintained. That Lord Bacon drew some of his brightest flame from this burning-well can be demonstrated. Portions of his "Essays" are but bold abridgments of Montaigne.

There are various degrees of literary larceny. Rabelais is guilty in the first degree, Lawrence Sterne in the second. Both pilfered from the inexhaustible Essays of Michael de Montaigne. The theories of Locke and of Rousseau on the subject of education, it is alleged, "have been transported bodily" from Montaigne, the Genevese choosing "the more objectionable and fantastic parts," and the Englishman choosing only "that which was solid and sensible." To what extent it is modest and lawful for a writer to copy, adapt, digest, or abridge the writings of others without direct acknowledgment and distinct reference, is an open question in literary ethics, but it cannot remain so much longer. That there is such a thing as honest mental digestion and a legitimate process of literary assimilation, no one doubts. Much less is it doubted that, under this and other plausible pretexts, no small amount of literary swindling is attempted to be covered up. In the January number of this Review, 1849, Dr. M'Clintock furnished a short but pungent article, in which he investi-

gates a charge of plagiarism against Dr. Paley: "Well do we remember," says he, "the delightful impression of satisfaction which the opening paragraph of Dr. Paley's Natural Theology made upon our minds when we took up that work in college days. Especially did 'the watch,' found in that lone walk over the heath, strike us, as it has done thousands of others, as the most apt and perfect specimen of illustration that we have ever seen. Alas for human frailty! the watch was *stolen*, spring, wheels, dial-plate, glass, and all! All this appears, and more, from an apparently well-sustained charge of plagiarism, brought against Archdeacon Paley by a writer in the 'Athenæum.'" After traversing the details of the proofs adduced by a writer in the "Athenæum," the doctor says: "To call such wholesale theft as this a 'legitimate use of authority' is to play at fast and loose, not merely with words, but common honesty." A defender of Dr. Paley in a subsequent number of the "Athenæum" tries to find an excuse for him by saying, that as Dr. Paley mentions the name of Nieuwentyt, from whom he had purloined both arguments and illustrations, there could be no intention on his part to conceal his acquaintance with Nieuwentyt's book, or his obligation to him. To this defense Dr. M'Clintock says: "The *particular* reference only makes the case the stronger, as negativing, at least by implication, the general appropriation of the work referred to." This, we think, is an indorsement, in advance, of the views we hold in regard to the laws of quotation. The whole subject is closed with this significant passage:—

> Another writer in the "Athenæum" finds a different solution of the difficulty, namely, that the work grew out of Paley's oral lectures, delivered while tutor in Christ College, and that, as nearly thirty years elapsed between the delivery of the lectures and the publication of the book, the writer forgot the sources of his early information. There is some plausibility in this. College lectures are mainly compilations, and as in their oral delivery it would be little less than absurd to give every authority, it is not unusual for lecturers to omit references even in their manuscript. But the man who could, after the lapse of even twice thirty years, print such a compilation as his own, must either be dishonest or a dotard. Now, it is not pretended that Paley was in his dotage when he published the "Natural Theology;" he was too shrewd a man not to know what he was about; it therefore remains for us, as far as we can now see, to class him among the great plagiarists.

In connection with this alleged theft of the argument from design, it may be safely affirmed that not only may the argument be traced back to Xenophon, who, in his "*Memorabilia*" has embalmed the germ of the idea, but that its illustrations have been floating down to us through long lines of doctors of divinity and professors of moral philosophy, to be utilized with unnumbered and marvelous "new attachments" in the modern lectures of Joseph Cook, who, with a subtlety and ingenuity we are compelled to admire, substitutes for the watch the more wonderful cup of Neptune. So far as Paley is concerned we are inclined to think that a charge of plagiarism does lie unanswered, which deducts from his fame as a teacher of sacred philosophy; and it does not help the reputation of this otherwise respected author, that a story has got into traditional circulation that he advised his pupils, in the matter of making sermons, to make one and steal three. Such advice is presumably possible in a divine who, in his published ethics, unblushingly affirms that whatever is "expedient upon the whole" is right. A theory of which even respectable heathen have been ashamed.

Gregory the Great is said, on the authority of Disraeli, as quoted in the "Edinburgh Review," to have burned the works of Varro, the learned Roman, that Saint Austin might escape from the charge of plagiarism, being deeply indebted to Varro for much of his great work, "The City of God." This, according to the "Edinburgh Review," is not the only irreparable loss that has been attributed to plagiarism. Cicero's treatise, "*De Gloria*," was extant in the fourteenth century, and in the possession of Petrarch, but he lent it and it was lost. Two centuries later it was traced to a convent library, from which it had disappeared under circumstances justifying a suspicion that the guardian of the library, Pierre Alegonius, had destroyed it, to conceal the fraudulent use made of the contents for his treatise "*De Exsilio*," "many pages of which," to borrow a simile from the "Critic," "lie upon the surface, like lumps of marl on a barren moor, encumbering what they cannot fertilize." Leonard Aretin, believing himself the sole possessor of a manuscript of Procopius on the War of the Goths, translated it into Latin, and passed for the author, until another copy turned up. The "*Causeur*" relates a similar anecdote of

Augustin Barbosa, Bishop of Ugento, who printed a treatise, "*De Officio Episcoporum.*" His cook had brought home a fish wrapped in a leaf of Latin manuscript. The prelate had the curiosity to read the fragment. Struck with the subject, he ran to the market and ransacked the stalls till he had discovered the book from which the leaf had been torn. It was the treatise, "*De Officio*," which, adding very little of his own, he published among his works, "to the great glory of God." This was a bolder stroke for fame than that of an Irish bishop, still living, who incorporated a brother divine's sermon into his charge. Plagiarism, however, was not esteemed so heinous an offense formerly as it is at present, and our actual stores of thought and knowledge have been enriched by it. Thus, Sulpicius Servius, the Christian Sallust, is believed to have copied his account of the capture of Jerusalem from the lost book of Tacitus.

John Dennis, late in the seventeenth century, wrote a play, which he enlivened by inventing for its public rendering a new kind of stage thunder. The play, however, notwithstanding the thunder, was damned. Some nights after, at a representation of Macbeth, he heard his thunder. He rose in a violent passion and exclaimed, "See how the rascals use me! They will not let my play run, and yet they steal my thunder." The exclamation has entitled its author to literary immortality.

ART. V.—DANIEL WEBSTER.

Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Daniel Webster. By PETER HARVEY. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1877.

A GREAT man is always an object of interest; and when he is gone every additional beam of light cast on his memory attracts public attention. The American people never tire of looking at Washington or Jefferson, or the other great characters of our heroic days, in every possible light; and the interest in them seems to increase as we recede from the events made memorable by their activities. Daniel Webster stands nearer to us, and the passions and prejudices which colored his

public acts have not, as yet, wholly died out; but they have become so softened by the mellowing influence of time that all facts and incidents relating to his career have a better opportunity to exert their proper influence. Hence a new book on Webster is not only a matter of interest to the general reader, but is also important in helping us to correct erroneous opinions, and to eradicate unfounded prejudices.

In this regard the "Reminiscences" of Mr. Harvey have some advantages over ordinary biography. The author was for many years the friend and confidant of Mr. Webster, and, as he does not undertake to give a complete history of the statesman's life, he has the better opportunity to enter into particulars respecting those fragments with which he was more or less associated. His relation to his friend was, in some important respects, like that of Boswell to Johnson. He was his reporter, and put down the words as they fell from his lips. In this way his hero is often made to explain the motives of his own action. Mr. Webster's public life ran through so many years of eventful history, and he was so conspicuous in the affairs of the nation, standing sometimes in the way of partisan success and individual ambition, and sometimes as their shield and defense, that he was at once the target for general abuse and for indiscriminate praise. The mind, therefore, turns with a sense of relief to any thing which seems to uncover facts on which we can rest with some feeling of reliance.

There was nothing very remarkable about Mr. Webster's early life. All the indications are that he was a good, obedient, dutiful boy; a diligent scholar, who acquired knowledge easily; a young man of good habits and morals, who gave abundant promise of future distinction. His father was a farmer in moderate circumstances, and heavily in debt; a plain, pious, church-going, hard-working man, with ten children, who grew more and more respectable and influential as he grew in years; and, whether a soldier in the army of Washington, a laborer on his farm in Salisbury, N. H., or an inferior judge on the bench of the County Court, his trust was always performed with faithfulness and ability, and with a scrupulous and conscientious integrity.

Daniel was the ninth child and the youngest son. In his

school days he had shown such facility in mastering his lessons, and was so diligent and ready of understanding, that his teachers and some influential neighbors, familiar with the family, thought that he ought to be liberally educated, and brought the matter to the notice of his father. For some time the father resisted their importunities, not deeming himself able to incur the expense; but the Rev. Samuel Wood, LL.D., with whom Daniel was pursuing his studies in the neighboring town of Boscawen, and Dr. Abbott, of the Exeter Academy, where he had spent nine months at school, after consulting together, had an interview with the elder Webster, which ended in an arrangement for Daniel to be sent to Dartmouth. In after years Mr. Webster, in referring to the circumstance, said that he was riding with his father in a sleigh through a deep snow, when the matter was broken to him; and, after saying that he was greatly surprised and overjoyed at the news, he adds: "I laid my head on my father's shoulder, and wept."

He entered college at fifteen, and as a student was punctual and laborious, always seeming to have a sense of the sacrifices made on his account. At the annual vacation he was either at home helping his father on the farm, or away engaged in teaching, to lighten the parental burden. Next older than Daniel was his brother Ezekiel, the companion of his boyhood, to whom he was greatly attached. He was his father's main dependence; but Daniel was greatly solicitous on his account, and asked that he might be relieved as much as possible from the farm, and have a chance to go to school; and, after he had entered on his law studies with Mr. Thompson, he left them for a season, and taught in the Fryeburgh Academy, Me., to earn money to help his brother through college. Both were "heinously unprovided," but it did not prevent either of them from rising to great eminence. Ezekiel was one of the first lawyers in New Hampshire, but died suddenly in 1829. Mr. Webster's chief regret, after his famous encounter with Hayne, was that his brother had passed away, and could not share in his triumph.*

* Ezekiel attended college at Hanover, where Daniel visited him on his way home from Fryeburgh, after the completion of his term. Mr. Webster was accustomed to speak of this meeting with much feeling, and on one occasion said: "We walked and talked during a long evening; and, finally, seated on an old log, not far from the college, I gave him one hundred dollars, the result of my labors in teaching

But, although Daniel was poor, and "did the literature of a weekly paper," and recorded deeds, and taught school to help "the situation," it need not be inferred that his advantages for education were inferior to others. On the other hand, it is pretty certain that they were above those of most young men who obtain a liberal education. Thomas W. Thompson, with whom he studied law at Boscawen (not far from his father's house) was a college graduate, had been a tutor at Harvard, a member of the lower House of Congress, and a Senator, and was a lawyer of large practice; and in Boston, in the office of Governor Gore, where his studies were completed, he was brought into close association with the first minds of New England. But all that need be said of these early years of the future statesman is, that he was correct in his deportment, honoring the religious training of his father's house, and fairly improving all the great opportunities which fell in his way.

He was admitted to the bar in March, 1805, when he was twenty-three years old. As a student in college he had received the usual discipline in the art of public speaking, and must have attained to some distinction; for so early as his second year, when he was seventeen years old, he was chosen to deliver the Fourth-of-July oration, (1800,) an effort so creditable that it went into print in the Dartmouth paper; then in the following year he pronounced a funeral oration over a member of his class; and again, while teaching at Fryeburgh, he did the oratory for "Independence-day," (1802,) and a vote of thanks was accorded him by the board of trustees, which went on the records of the academy—"and that he would accept *five dollars* as a small acknowledgment of their sense of his services."

At the conclusion of his studies with Governor Gore, in Boston, he was offered the clerkship of a court in New Hampshire, and was greatly elated over his good fortune, the salary being two thousand dollars—enough to keep him handsomely, and relieve the necessities of his father and brother. But, on taking the letter to Governor Gore, that gentleman looked very serious

and in recording deeds, after paying my own debts; and leaving to myself but three dollars to get home with."

When at Fryeburgh Mr. Webster was paid at the rate of three hundred dollars per year. He boarded with the register of deeds, who paid him twenty-five cents apiece for recording deeds, and much of his time was spent in this work; but he had a borrowed copy of Blackstone, which he found time to read with care.

over it, and advised that the place should not be accepted. He said that he was aware of the importance of the salary to his pupil; but he was now ready to begin the life for which he had been preparing himself, and the clerkship would withdraw him from more important professional duties, and be a permanent injury. Mr. Webster was not convinced, but he promised to act on the advice of his preceptor, and very reluctantly turned away from his assured prosperity to continue in his position of extreme dependence. He says:—

> I went up to Boscawen, and opened a law office in a red store, with stairs on the outside, for which I paid a rent of fifteen dollars per year. I lived at home, and walked to and from the office at morning and at night. I had resolved never to leave home during the life of my father, no matter what might betide. I stayed by him two years. I did not, in those two years, make money enough to pay the rent of the office; but I stayed till my father died. I closed his eyes, and received his blessing. Then I started for Portsmouth, and began my career of life.

His two years at home had been years of preparation. Although he made no money, he had considerable practice—enough to give him confidence and drive him to his books. He opened his office in Portsmouth, in 1807, and took his position at once among the most distinguished lawyers in New Hampshire. A year later he married Grace Fletcher, the daughter of a clergyman in Hopkinton, an attractive and beautiful woman, who was his "good angel," and should have lived always, instead of leaving him, after twenty years, to face the corruptions of the world without her restraining influence.

His personal appearance at this period of his life was dignified and impressive, and the awkwardness of his earlier years had gone. He had a stout frame, but was slender and light of weight, his head large, his hair black, his dress without a fault, his eye so full and expressive that at home he was called "All Eyes," and his complexion dark—not so dark as to warrant the appellation of "Black Dan," given to him by his opponents, but dark enough to give point to the rough wit of old General Stark, when he said: "Well, yes, come to think, you must be a son of old Captain Eb. In the war we couldn't tell whether Captain Webster's face was natural color or blackened by powder; and you are a cursed sight blacker than he was."

As Mr. Webster, during his preparatory studies, had been associated with men of learning and endowments, so, at the Portsmouth bar, he had to contend with some of the foremost legal minds of his day. It was probably partly owing to this fact, but still more to a certain innate love of dignity, that, in his intercourse with the bar, he was always good-tempered, observant of parliamentary law, and scrupulous in regarding those courtesies prevalent in the best circles of society. He was uniformly respectful to his opponents, obedient to the rules and orders of the court, and had such mastery of himself as not to be betrayed into any angry retorts or unbecoming personalities, by the most skillful goading of the "learned gentlemen on the other side." These habits he carried with him into political life; and if the old Senate was "the most dignified body in the world," it was owing largely to his presence in it. The uniform respect which he always paid to the rulings of the presiding officer, his scrupulous regard for the feelings of others, and his careful attention to all the decorum of a public body, had a wonderful influence on other Senators, and the effect is felt in that body to this day. He was free from tricks, and his bearing had an air of consideration for all with whom he had any dealings. In speaking, he made his impression by seizing on the strong points of the case, and urging them with manly force. The facts which he professed to state were always facts; his authorities were those uniformly conceded to be authorities, and his application of them fair and legitimate.

In the Sanborn case, as Mr. Harvey tells us, while he was arguing to the jury with his accustomed clearness and force, he had occasion to cite some English case, and did so without being particular to give the volume and the page where it could be found. Augustus Peabody, one of the opposing counsel, who is described as a sort of walking dictionary of law, and familiar with all the authorities, interrupted him, and called for the volume and the page. Mr. Webster paid no attention to the interruption, but went on steadily with his argument. Pretty soon Mr. Peabody was noticed in consultation with his associate, Mr. Hoar, and after a moment arose and claimed the protection of the court, saying that Mr. Webster was citing authorities without stating where they could be found. Chief Justice Shaw was on the bench, and said that counsel had a right

to know where cases could be found, and the court would also like to know. Mr. Webster replied in his serious way, as follows:—

It is not very good manners to interrogate me in the midst of a sentence addressed to the jury. It is a practice in which I never indulge. I always let counsel have their say, and do as well as I can in answering them. This interrupting I do not like. It is rather a bad habit of my learned friend on the other side, and is quite annoying. He has appealed to me somewhat as if I had quoted a case that was fictitious. What I would say in answer is, that the case, as I narrated it, (giving particulars,) occurred in the third year of Lord Eldon in Chancery. In what particular volume, on what particular page, how many lines from the top, I don't know. I never trouble myself with these matters. Peabody has nothing else to do, and can hunt it up.*

This little reply is curiously comprehensive. It is (1) a vindication; it is (2) a reproof; it is (3) a censure; it is (4) a deprecation—it belittles and makes insignificant the learning of an able opponent; and, in addition to all this, it exposes a characteristic feature in Mr. Webster's method. It was true of him that he was not disposed to interfere with others when they were speaking—was not nettlesome under fire. It was especially true of him that he was not careful about minor points if he could make strong the major ones. He did not mind the page and the line, or the exact words, so that he made perfectly clear the point in hand. He made his impression more by a clear statement of the facts than by syllogistic argument; and hence his speeches are almost bare of quotations. In his second reply to Hayne, covering, perhaps, a hundred pages of ordinary book print, the quotations hardly amount to what a printer would call a *stick-full*, while its logic was so complete as to carry the Senate and the country.

The Bar and the Senate are alike the theater of conflict; and where there is assault there must necessarily be defense. In these conflicts it is exceedingly difficult to avoid being goaded into hasty and passionate reply. Hence it is that half the time of every Congress is taken up with matters personal, and too often disgracefully personal. But Mr. Webster was always able to command himself. The passage of arms between him and Mr. Hayne assumed a highly personal tone, and

* "Harvey," pp. 95, 96.

some of Mr. Webster's friends were greatly concerned about his reply, fearing that he would be driven into a personal contest. It had its origin in that intense sectional feeling which a few years later culminated in open rebellion, and Mr. Hayne did not spare the North or its champion. It may be worth while, therefore, to recall from the speech of Mr. Webster a single passage to show the spirit in which he met and parried these "poisoned arrows." He said:—

The gentleman, sir, in declining to postpone the debate, told the Senate, with the emphasis of his hand upon his heart, that there was something rankling *here* which he wished to relieve. (Mr. Hayne arose, and disclaimed the use of the word *rankling*.) It would not, continued Mr. Webster, be safe for the honorable member to appeal to those around him; but he may have been unconscious of it. At any rate, it is enough that he disclaims it. But still, with or without the use of that particular word, he had yet something *here*, he said, of which he wished to rid himself by an immediate reply. In this respect, sir, I have a great advantage over the honorable gentleman. There is nothing *here* which gives me the slightest uneasiness. Neither fear, nor anger, nor that which is sometimes more troublesome than either, the consciousness of having been in the wrong. . . . And, sir, while there is nothing originating *here* which I wished or now wish to discharge, nothing has been received *here* which rankles, or in any way gives me annoyance. I will not accuse the honorable member of violating the rules of civilized war; I will not say that he poisoned his arrows; but, whether his shafts were, or were not, dipped in that which would have caused rankling if they had reached, there was not, as it happened, quite strength enough in the bow to bring them to their mark.

This extraordinary power of command over himself was, from the first, a great element of success, and, young as he was, he at once took his position as the peer of the ablest and most experienced. Mr. Everett says:—

The promise of his youth and the expectation of those who had known him as a student were more than fulfilled. He took a position as a counselor and advocate above which no one has ever risen in this country. A large share of the best business of New England was poured into his hands, and the veterans of the Boston bar admitted him to an entire equality of standing, repute, and influence.

His fame grew apace, spreading rapidly over the State; and in 1812, five years after his settlement, he was nominated for Congress, and elected on the Federal ticket. War had then

just been declared against England, and the times were exceedingly stormy. The Federal party was the party of opposition, and, being strongest in the commercial States, felt the war to be exceedingly oppressive. Mr. Webster went into Congress as the opponent of the war, and made himself felt at once. He was consequently assailed with great bitterness, but maintained his position with rare dignity. In one of his speeches he said: "I honor the people that shrink from such a contest as this. I applaud their sentiments. They are such as religion and humanity dictate." For this and other like expressions he was held to a severe account by the war party; and the "Patriot," published at Concord, never ceased to goad him with contemptuous and insolent personalities. It had been purchased three years before by Isaac Hill, a young printer just out of his time, who was giving indications of remarkable vigor, and was making it a power in the State. He assailed Mr. Webster in every possible form of abuse. He spoke of him as "exceedingly flippant in arguing petty suits in the courts of law," accused him of "deliberate falsehood," called him a "cold-blooded wretch, whose heart was callous to every patriotic feeling," held him up as the "tool of the enemy," a "conspirator against the Union," a pretender whom "you would suppose was a great merchant living in a maritime city, and not a man reared in the *woods of Salisbury*, or educated in the *wilds of Hanover*."

This course was pursued through many years, but it did not prevent Mr. Webster from growing steadily in the public favor; and when Mr. Hill, many years afterward, took his seat in the United States Senate by the side of Mr. Webster, it was to find the man "reared in the *woods of Salisbury*" the intellectual giant of that body. He was re-elected in 1814, and took part in all the great questions then before Congress; and was exceptionally strong in the discussions that arose about chartering the United States Bank, breaking down the first plan presented, and not voting for the second. He also procured the passage of a resolution requiring all the revenues of the Government to be paid in its legal currency. This was then a measure of immense importance, and corrected a vast amount of mischief. In the mean time his house in Plymouth took fire and burned down, confirming him in a half-formed reso-

lution to leave Plymouth and take up his residence in Boston, which he did in 1816.

While Mr. Webster stood by his party in opposition to the war, he was careful not to oppose the appropriations which were necessary to make it successful, and to bring it to a close; and there is no evidence that he justified, as some of his party did, the searches which were largely the cause of the war. The claim for the right of search for the purpose of impressment, so long persisted in by Great Britain, now appears to us as utterly preposterous; but it was then evidently regarded by the English Government as a veritable right, and was maintained for many years with arbitrary power. The records of the State Department show that over six thousand seamen were thus impressed. The claim was, that the British Government had a right to the services of its own subjects, and could take them forcibly out of any neutral merchant vessel, in time of war, on the ground that, under English law, the obligation of the subject is perpetual. But, besides the outrage of search, it so happened that natives of the United States, who owed no allegiance to Great Britain whatever, were just as likely to be seized and impressed as actual British subjects. The lieutenant of a man-of-war, wanting men, and having a strong Government behind him, was not likely to make very nice distinctions; and hence, so early as April 13, 1797, Mr. King, our Minister, wrote to the Secretary of State "that he had made application for the discharge from British men-of-war of two hundred and seventy-one seamen who, stating themselves to be Americans, have claimed my interference."

But, while the war was largely in the interest of seamen, and the political battle-cry of the Democratic party was "Free trade and sailors' rights," the treaty of peace was strangely silent on the subject of impressment, and the claim of England, though no longer exercised, had not been relinquished. Hence it was that, many years afterward, when Mr. Webster was Secretary of State under John Tyler, this was still an open question. All our diplomacy for more than fifty years, including an expensive war of great discomfort to the nation, had failed to bring the English Government to a sense of this wrong, and it remained for Mr. Webster to accomplish it by such an exhibition of the facts in their relation to well established prin-

ciples of international law as made its further justification impossible.

The importance of a clear perception, and the power to state it in such fitting words as to make it clear to others, was never more obvious than in the effect produced by Mr. Webster's letter of August 8, 1842, on this subject. Theodore Parker says of it that "it would have done honor to any statesman in the world." It seems, on reading it now, like a simple statement of recognized facts; but the subject was not then so well understood, and its clear and conclusive reasoning made a strong impression. The main point of the letter was this: That British law could not govern British subjects outside of British territory; that a British ship on the ocean was British territory, and an American ship was American territory; and, hence, "that in every documented American merchant vessel the crew who navigate it will find their protection in the flag which is over them."

On the subject of this letter there is a pleasant passage in Mr. Harvey's book, giving notes of a conversation with Mr. Webster, which will not be out of place here. It will be remembered that Lord Ashburton came to this country and negotiated with Mr. Webster what is known as the Ashburton Treaty, settling the North-eastern boundary question, and establishing measures for the suppression of the slave-trade. Lord Ashburton would not consent to take up the impressment question, and Mr. Webster, therefore, addressed him a letter which he was to bear to our Minister in England for the British Foreign Secretary. Mr. Webster told Mr. Harvey that he had long desired an opportunity to express his views, and that nothing had surprised him more than the failure on the part of eminent statesmen to get at the real point of this controversy. He said:—

Even John Quincy Adams, with all his knowledge of diplomacy and international law, failed, I think, to meet the case; and if he failed to meet it, it would be pretty hard for any body else to meet it, for he was exceedingly apt in those things. In my judgment there was but one course, and that was flatly to deny the right. Nothing short of that would meet the trouble. That is the only ground to take. Every ship that sails the ocean must find its protection in its flag. Well, when I proposed, after the

boundary question was done with, to settle this disputed question, Lord Ashburton said he did not wish me to write him any letters on that subject. Consequently, the dispatch which I wrote was sent to our Minister, to present to the English Minister. Mr. Everett was then our envoy to the Court of St. James. He told me that he read the dispatch to the Earl of Aberdeen, who was Foreign Secretary, and who was a tough-headed, bluff old Scotchman. As usual, he did not pay much attention at first, but finally became interested, and, interrupting, said: "Wont you read that again, Mr. Everett?" He did so; and, as soon as he had finished reading, Lord Aberdeen asked for a copy of the dispatch. "Mr. Everett," said he, "that American Secretary of State writes very extraordinary papers. That is a remarkable document. The argument in that paper cannot be answered. Mr. Webster has got the right of it." Mr. Everett, of course, enjoyed the compliment very much; and, after parting from the earl, he received a note from him requesting that he would please consider their conversation private and confidential. The next time they met, the earl said: "I have not altered my opinion about that dispatch. It has been before her Majesty's Ministers, and they say it must be answered, but I do not know who is going to do it."

Mr. Webster continues:—

Lord Aberdeen was right: the argument is unanswerable. There was no very extraordinary ability in my paper, but the common sense of the thing was apparent. The English Government turned around and attempted to say: "Then you will allow your flag to be desecrated to the practice of piracy. A suspicious-looking craft may be sailing under the flag, and a cruiser may have every reason to suppose that she is a pirate, and she cannot be brought to." Now, I claim no such thing as that. If there is a robber in a man's house, and you break down the door and go in, and find you have got a robber, you are all right; but if you find that he is not a trespasser you must pay the damage: and that is precisely what I say in this matter. You can stop and search this supposed pirate; and if she is a pirate, and has assumed a flag that does not belong to her, then let her be dealt with as such. But suppose it turns out that you are mistaken—that she is no pirate, but a lawful ship. What then? Pay the damage, just as you would in any other case of trespass. That is the distinction. If you had the right to stop every body it would kill all commerce.

There is one thing you may rely upon. The English Government have never answered that dispatch, because they cannot. The common sense of the thing settles that. But they will, perhaps, never admit it, either. The English Minister will not sit down and write a dispatch, saying that he is convinced that the English view is wrong. But they will never again attempt to exercise the right of search. When the issue arises again they will abandon it.—Page 167.

The result has proved Mr. Webster's words to be prophetic. Mr. Harvey calls attention to the fact that the question did come up again during the administration of Mr. Buchanan; and when our Government called the English Government to account for attempting to enforce its old doctrine, the act was disclaimed, and an order given to all British cruisers not to touch any ship sailing under the American flag.

Mr. Webster removed to Boston in 1816, because of his increasing business in that direction, and not apparently with any political purpose. It was seven years after his removal before he again appeared in Congress. But in the meantime he was a member of the convention which reformed the State Constitution, had delivered his great speech on the settlement of New England at Plymouth Rock, and made his successful argument in the Dartmouth College Case before the United States Supreme Court in Washington. This speech, which is regarded as one of his most masterly arguments, was made in 1818, when he was thirty-six years old, and was his first speech before that great tribunal. Professor Goodrich, of Yale College, who went to Washington on purpose to hear it, says that his audience consisted of legal men, the *élite* of the profession throughout the Union, and that Mr. Webster went on in a conversational tone, fixing the attention more and more, his matter being so completely at his command that he scarcely looked at his brief, and continuing for more than four hours, with a statement so luminous, a chain of reasoning so easy and natural, and so near to absolute demonstration, that he carried his audience with him as he went along. But what was altogether unusual was that the room of the Supreme Court, the place of dry argument, should be warmed into such a condition of feeling as to require a great effort to keep from showing it. But when he came to speak of his personal interest in the college (where he was educated) he was greatly affected, and that affected others. He said:—

> You may destroy this little institution. It is weak; it is in your hands. I know it is one of the lesser lights in the horizon of our country. You may put it out; but if you do so you must carry through your work. You must extinguish, one after another, all those great lights of science which for more than a century have thrown their radiance over our land. It is, sir, as I have said, a small college, and yet *there are those who love it.* (Here

he made a long pause, evidently under a strong pressure of feeling, and with the judges also much moved, and then continued.) Sir, I know not how others may feel, (glancing at the opponents of the college, some of whom were its graduates,) but for myself, when I see my *Alma Mater* surrounded, like Cæsar in the Senate House, by those who are thrusting into it stab after stab, I would not for this right hand have her turn to me and say, "Thou, too, my son!"

George S. Hillard, Esq., is authority for saying that he has often heard Judge Story, who was then one of the judges, speak of this speech. He said that "for the first hour we listened to him with perfect astonishment, for the second with perfect delight, and for the third with perfect conviction." Mr. Hillard himself says that Mr. Webster entered the court-room that day almost unknown, and left it with no rival but Pinckney.

This Dartmouth College plea Mr. Webster always regarded as one of his most successful legal arguments, and he associated with it his argument in the Steamboat Case. Mr. Wirt was his senior counsel in this case, and what was curious about it was that Mr. Webster was obliged to overthrow the argument of his colleague in order to establish his own. Mr. Harvey makes Mr. Webster tell the story as follows:—

The Steamboat Case, you remember, was a question of the constitutionality of the right of New York to give a monopoly to Fulton and his heirs forever of the privilege of plying the waters of the Hudson with his steamboats. The value of such a right was not then fully understood. But it seemed to me to be against the very essence of State rights, and a virtual dissolution of the Union *in a commercial sense*. If New York had a right to lay tolls upon her rivers for every body that should pass, then all the other great international rivers and lakes would have the same right, and we could not be one as a commercial people. The people of New York felt that their rights were at stake in the contest, and their great lawyers—and they had many of them—were engaged on that side: the Livingstons and Clintons, and others of like calibre; Mr. Wirt and myself were employed against the monopoly. When the case came to be argued before the Supreme Court in Washington, Chief Justice Marshall presiding, Mr. Wirt and myself met for consultation. Mr. Wirt asked me upon what grounds I based my case—upon what clause of the Constitution. He had a right to ask, as he was my senior in years and in professional fame. My reply was, that the clause of the Constitution which ceded to the general Government the right to regulate commerce among the States was that on which I

should base my defense. He replied that he did not see in that line of argument any ground for our case to rest upon. I said, "Very well; what is yours?" So he told me. I do not recollect what it was, but it was a totally different clause. I said to him: "Mr. Wirt, I will be as frank with you as you have been with me, and say that I do not see the slightest ground to rest our case upon in your view of it." "Very well," replied Mr. Wirt, "let us each argue it in his own way, and we will find out which, if either, is right."

The case came on, and Mr. Wirt made one of his brilliant arguments before the court. I followed with my view.

I can see the Chief-Justice as he looked at that moment. Chief-Justice Marshall always wrote with a quill, and always, before counsel began to argue, the Chief-Justice would nib his pen, and then, when every thing was ready, pulling up the sleeves of his gown, he would nod to the counsel who was to address him, as much as to say, "I am ready; you may go on."

I think I never experienced more intellectual pleasure than in arguing that naval question to a great man who could appreciate it and take it in—and he did take it in, as a baby takes in its mother's milk.

The result of the case was just this: the opinion of the court, as rendered by the Chief-Justice, was little else than a recital of my argument. The Chief-Justice told me that he had little to do but to repeat that argument, as that covered the whole ground; and, what was a little curious, he never referred to the fact that Mr. Wirt had made an argument. He did not speak of it once. That was very singular. It was an accident, I think. Mr. Wirt was a great lawyer and a great man. But sometimes a man gets a kink, and doesn't hit right. That was one of the occasions. But it was nothing against Mr. Wirt.—Page 140.

It was some three years after Mr. Webster's removal to Boston that the country was agitated by the demand of the South to admit the State of Missouri into the Union with slavery, and to establish a line west of Missouri beyond which slavery was not to pass. Mr. Webster had at that time no public position, but he took a conspicuous part against the proposed measure, and a year later, in his Plymouth Rock speech, is a memorable passage, much quoted, strongly denouncing the traffic in slaves. Mr. Webster was outspoken as to the power of Congress to prevent the admission of a State with slavery, and was on a committee which reported that "it is just and expedient that this power should be exercised by Congress upon the admission of all new States created beyond the original territory of the United States." About the same time he was chairman of a committee which reported

that "we have a strong feeling of the injustice of any toleration of slavery." In 1837, at Niblo's Garden, New York, he said the subject of slavery "has not only attracted attention as a question of politics, but has struck much deeper, and arrested the religious feeling of the country. It has taken strong hold of the consciences of men." He thought the country "might be reasoned with" and "made willing" to fulfill "existing engagements and all existing duties;" but any attempt to coerce silence would, he thought, endanger the safety of the republic. He opposed the annexation of Texas, because "it would tend to prolong the duration and increase the extent of African slavery on this continent. . . . I oppose it," said he, "without condition, and without qualification, at this time and at all times, now and forever." In 1837, at the Whig Convention in Springfield, he was outspoken for the Wilmot Proviso, and said: "We are to use the first and the last and every occasion which offers to oppose the extension of slavery." On the 10th of August, 1848, he said in the United States Senate: "My opposition to the increase of slavery in this country, or to the increase of slave representation, is general and universal. It has no reference to the lines of latitude on the points of the compass. I shall oppose all such extension at all times, and under all circumstances, even against all inducements, against all supposed limitations of great interests, against all combinations, *against all compromises.*"

We need not extend these quotations. They are clear enough as to Mr. Webster's position on all the phases of the slavery question down to his speech delivered in the Senate on the 7th of March, 1850. In that speech Mr. Webster took new ground, which separated him at once from the antislavery men and antislavery organizations with which he had steadily acted for forty years. The speech was an argument to compromise the issues between freedom and slavery on the basis of Mr. Clay's Omnibus Bill, and was in favor of the passage of a new Fugitive Slave Law, against any proviso for keeping slavery away from new territory, and for restraining all antislavery discussion. But what was deemed even worse than the speech was Mr. Webster's wonderful activity in sustaining it. Never before had he come so often before the public, and never before had he been so dogmatic in the assertion of his

views. In one of his dinner speeches he replied to a toast which declared that the perpetuity of the Union depended on the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, and in the course of his remarks he said: "You of the South have as much right to secure your fugitive slaves as the North has to the rights and privileges of commerce." On the subject of free discussion he said: "Neither you nor I shall see the legislation of the country proceed in the old harmonious way until the discussions in Congress and out of Congress upon the subject of slavery *shall be in some way suppressed.*" Instead of the strong and manly declarations against the further extension of slavery that had been so familiar to his lips, he said on the 7th of March that "If a resolution or law was now before us to provide a territorial government for New Mexico *I would not vote to put any prohibition into it.*" He held that the soil, the face of the country, and the climate were a sufficient prohibition, and he would not "re-enact the will of God."

He was terribly severe on "abstractions" and the higher law of conscience, and in his letter of October 28, 1850, to the New York Union Committee, he maintained that "No man is at liberty to set up or affect to set up his own conscience as above the law." And he added, "If we would continue one people we must acquiesce in the will of the majority." On the subject of those compromises, which he had favored in his 7th of March speech, and which had since become the law of the land, he said: "We are to listen to no modification or qualification. They were passed in conformity to the provisions of the Constitution, and they must be performed and abided by *in whatever event, and at whatever cost.*" In his speech at Syracuse, in 1851, referring to the pledges of certain citizens that the Fugitive Slave Law should not be executed, he said: "Depend upon it, the law will be executed in its spirit and to its letter. It will be executed in all the great cities—here in Syracuse, in the midst of the next antislavery convention, if the occasion shall arise. Then we shall see what becomes of their 'lives and their sacred honors.'"

This action on the part of Mr. Webster was felt in all parts of the country. Large numbers of men who had concurred more or less in the growing sentiment against slavery were brought to a pause; clergymen who had been silent preached

against covenant-breaking; merchants who had southern connections took ground against discussion; and the antislavery agitators felt their strength every-where diminishing. They were frantic in their assaults on the great champion of pacification; but more and more the country settled down to a reluctant acceptance of the compromise measures. If any thing had been wanting to show the power of a great mind over the destinies of a country this was the occasion to furnish it. The effect, to use the strong language of Mr. Parker, was "amazing," and, had the South been satisfied with its victory, there is no reason to believe that the peace of the country would have been further disturbed. But the subsequent repeal of the Missouri Compromise in the interest of slavery, just after Mr. Webster's death, renewed the agitation with additional ferocity, and brought on the war.

It is painful to contemplate this great change in Mr. Webster's political position, and still more painful to accept the common theory for its solution, namely, that it was for the sordid purpose of securing Southern support in obtaining the presidential office. Mr. Parker, it must be admitted, expressed the general feeling among antislavery men when he said: "Here is the reason. He wanted to be President. That was all of it. . . . He wanted the office himself. This time he must storm the North and conciliate the South."

There is not, there cannot be, any justification for this extraordinary betrayal of principle, and it must forever remain a blot on the character of this distinguished man. He not only swerved from the course of rectitude which he had hitherto maintained, but, in advocating his new position, he struck at the great foundations of human character, and sought to rule down those elements of manhood which he had so exalted in his Plymouth Rock speech, and which sustained the martyrs in their conflict with the Church, the Puritans in their war against prerogative, and the fathers of the Republic in their determination to pay no duty on tea.

But it may be doubted whether Mr. Parker is entirely right in regard to the motive which wrought this sorrowful and extraordinary change. We may concede that Mr. Webster "wanted to be President;" but how seldom it is that any course in life is shaped on a single motive! And in this case

there were, doubtless, several other motives, and certainly *one*, which was of overruling influence. His love of the Union was an all-pervading motive with Mr. Webster, and prominent in all his activities. Some of the finest and most familiar passages of his oratory are in praise of the Union; and the words, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable," will live as long as this nation lives. In his speech of the 7th of March he exclaims:—

> Secession! peaceable secession! Sir, your eyes and mine are never destined to see that miracle. The dismemberment of this vast country without convulsion! The breaking up of the fountains of the great deep without ruffling the surface! Who is so foolish—I beg every body's pardon—as to expect to see any such thing?

In Mr. Webster's view every national good depended on the union of the States, and hence its preservation was paramount to every thing else.

Then he was in a position to know better than most other men the reality of those dangers which so many scoffed at. The country was in a great convulsion over free California, and the whole South was full of passion, and united as one man. If, therefore, he foresaw what was so soon to take place; if he had a strong conviction of the coming danger, and acted to prevent it; if he believed that it would be better for the North to "conquer its prejudices" than to go to war or to go to pieces, then his conduct would have an interpretation altogether consistent with the general elevation of his life, and without implying the sordid and selfish motive so generally attributed to him. It might imply weakness, but it would not imply corruption.

This, at least, was his own explanation of his extraordinary course of conduct. Mr. Harvey publishes the following extract of a letter bearing on this point, written to a friend in September, 1850, a few months after the delivery of his speech of March 7, on the compromises of the Constitution. He says:—

> Long before General Taylor's death I made up my mind to risk myself on a proposition for a general pacification. I attempted to sound two New England men, but found them afraid.

I then resolved to push my skiff from the shore alone, considering that, in such a case, if I should be foundered there would be but one life lost.

But if Mr. Webster broke himself down to secure Southern support, his failure should be a signal warning to all future politicians; for at the following Whig National Convention (1852) he did not get a single Southern vote. There is no doubt that he was greatly disappointed at this result, and that he felt the nomination of General Scott to be a reflection on his own abilities and services. He consequently warmed toward his old foemen of the Democratic party, who were proud of his association, and were ready to welcome him to their embrace. As is usual in such cases, he was not conscious of any change in himself; but the true state of the case may be inferred from the fact that he advised his friends to vote for General Pierce, and found a new satisfaction in the words of approval which were showered on him by the Democratic leaders. Mr. Harvey tells us of a great party at Franklin, one of his summer homes, which was attended by General Pierce, Isaac Hill, and a host of other New Hampshire Democrats, while only two Whigs were present. This was in the autumn of 1850, and Mr. Harvey says:—

> The Democrats of New Hampshire, who had always before treated him with a good deal of coldness and abuse, were very lavish in their attention and kindness. They seemed to have changed. There was a returning warmth and sympathy among them, and he received cordial letters from a good many of them. He received one from Isaac Hill, with whom his relations had been any thing but friendly, asking his pardon, and assuring him of his respects and good wishes.

But the time was near at hand when Mr. Webster was to face his last enemy, and, as we have come to the conclusion that he was not wholly sordid in changing his position in regard to slavery, we shall be the better prepared to consider that religious element in his character which, however obscured by personal frailties and occasional backslidings, was never concealed, although it was generally believed to be more conspicuous in his public teachings than in his private life.

His argument in the Girard College case, which went to

show that there could be no such thing in this country as organized charity without Christianity, is familiar to most clergymen, and is an admirable statement of the Christian system in its bearing on public morals; but it is a professional plea, and would have little weight if it were not consistent with the whole tenor of Mr. Webster's teaching, both public and private. He was a thorough believer in the Christian theory, the divinity of Christ, the immortality of the soul, and the life everlasting. Mr. Parker, in setting forth his religious character, says:—

> He had little religion in the higher meaning of that word, much in the lower. He had the conventional form of religion—the formality of outward and visible prayer; reverence for the Bible and the name of Christ; attendance at meeting on Sunday, and at the "ordinances of religion;" but it is easy to be devout, hard to be moral.

He goes on:—

> He was fond of religious books of a sentimental cast, loved Watts' tender and delicious hymns, with the devotional parts of the Bible. His memory was stored with the poetry of hymn books; he was fond of attendance at church. He had no particle of religious bigotry, joining an orthodox Church at Boscawen, an Episcopal Church at Washington, a Unitarian at Boston, and attending religious services without much regard for the theology of the minister. He loved religious forms, and could not see a child baptized without a tear. Psalms and hymns also brought the woman into those great eyes. He was never known to swear or use any profane speech. Considering the habits of his political company, that is a fact worth notice; but I do not find that his religious emotions had any influence on his life, either public or private.

The end of religion is to regulate the life, and Mr. Parker's intimation is that Mr. Webster's life would not bear a very close scrutiny. But when Mr. Parker's criticism was uttered he was thinking of the 7th of March speech, and the cloud that Mr. Webster's political backslidings had brought over that cause which lay so near his heart; and we must look elsewhere to find whether he was any better for his religion. But it will be safe to infer that a man who regarded the Sabbath, who "was fond of attendance at church," who was so tender as often to have "the woman in his great eye," who was tolerant and forgiving, who was "never known to swear," who had

great "reverence for the name of Christ," and loved the "formality of outward and visible prayer," was not greatly injured by his religion.

The charges of immorality most frequently brought against Mr. Webster are those pertaining to intemperance and carelessness in the use of money. In regard to the last, Mr. Harvey's account of the famous India-rubber Case would seem to show that his neglect in regard to his debts arose more from the pressure that was on him continually than from any disregard of his obligations. Mr. Harvey tells his story as follows:—

In the spring of 1852—the year he died—Mr. Webster was asked to argue the great India-rubber Case which was tried before the U. S. Court at Trenton, N. J.—that of Goodyear *vs.* Day. Day's counsel was Choate, and as Goodyear felt the importance of the suit to him, the legal fees which he should pay seemed a small matter. Mr. Webster was then Secretary of State, and no man occupying such a place had ever before taken a fee and gone into court. He was overworked and in feeble health. The labors of the State Department were heavy and severe, and when the proposition was made to him to go to New Jersey at that warm season of the year to argue a case, it seemed almost an insult. He was, nevertheless, applied to, but said he could not think of it. I had seen Goodyear's agent, who told me that if Mr. Webster would argue the case he would give him a check for ten thousand dollars whenever he should signify his willingness to undertake it, and, if the case was decided in his favor, he would give him five thousand dollars more. I told Mr. Webster of the offer, and, apparently struck with what I said, he replied, "That is an enormous fee. Can he afford it?" My reply was, that it was his business, and he was a shrewd man, with every thing now at stake.

"It is a hard thing to undertake," said Mr. Webster. "It is an unfavorable season of the year, and my duties at Washington are pressing; but, really, I do not see how I can forego the fee. That fee I must have, for it will pay fifteen thousand dollars of my debts, and that is what I am striving to do: it is what, if my life is spared, I mean to do. If I can pay my debts I shall die in peace, a happy man. I do not see how I can begin to do it as well as in this way. I shall go and accept the fee."

He did go, received the fee, and won the cause. But he never put one dollar of the money into his own pocket. He appropriated it all to pay his debts—in fact, before it was earned; and I never in my life saw him apparently more delighted than when he received the money. Said he to me: "Three or four more such windfalls as that will let me die a free man: and that is all I have to do."

We leave this statement to make its own impression, and turn for a moment to the other charge. There are many men now living in the city of Washington who will say, if asked, that they have seen Mr. Webster intoxicated, and yet it is extremely doubtful whether they are not deceived. In one case a gentleman says in a note to a friend: "On the day the corner-stone of the south wing of the Capitol was laid he was very much intoxicated; but, after speaking a few words, he seemed to realize his position, straightened up, and delivered a magnificent oration." The question for the reader to settle here, and in all similar cases, is this: How could a man "very much intoxicated" proceed to deliver a "magnificent oration?" The common idea of intoxication implies a derangement of the mental functions from drink, and an outside observer, acting on popular rumor, is quite likely to be mistaken. A little anxious on this point, we addressed a note of inquiry to Hon. Alexander H. Stephens, who is known to have been familiar with Mr. Webster's habits during the last years of his life. His answer is as follows:—

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, March 8, 1878.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of this date has just come to hand. I first became acquainted with Mr. Webster in December, 1843. From that time until August, 1852, two months before he died, I was as intimate with him, perhaps, as any man of my age was with a man of his age. I often dined with him at his own house and at the houses of others; and he often dined with Mr. Toombs and myself when we kept house together. He always drank wine and brandy at dinner, as the other guests or parties did, but I never saw him under the influence of liquor in my life.

Very respectfully,

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

Mr. Harvey, in speaking on this topic, holds the same language. He says:—

Of Mr. Webster's daily habits when free from all restraints of company I think I may say without egotism that I know as much as any man; for I was with him a great deal, and, of course, my presence imposed no restraint upon him. He was temperate. He would sometimes take with his dinner a glass of wine or two, but was not in the habit of drinking at other times.

Such testimony does not prove that Mr. Webster was never intoxicated; but it is pretty conclusive as to the point that

intoxication was not his daily habit; and if the weight of testimony should seem to imply that in some of his later speeches he showed signs of over-stimulation, as at Saratoga, Patchogue, etc., it may be accounted for without reflecting on the accuracy of these and similar statements. It is pretty generally known that many public speakers before going on the stand use some form of mental stimulation. Some take tea or coffee, others opium or wine, and one friend told the writer that he never went into court without taking one or two grains of quinine. Mr. Webster used brandy or wine, and, during the pressure of this remarkable season, when so often appearing before the public, it would not be wonderful if he plied his stimulus too freely.

But it does not appear that when at his ordinary labors in Washington, or at Marshfield or Franklin, he was accustomed to drink at any other time than at the table. It is deeply to be regretted that men of such large influence and such generally correct deportment should not totally abstain from these pernicious drinks. The custom of fashionable drinking is the chief obstacle to a general temperance reform, and is, besides, the root of many great evils; but, fortunately, all forms of wrong doing may be forgiven, and the measure is not "until seven times," but until "seventy times seven."

Mr. Webster associated himself with the Congregational Church at Boscawen early in life, and his name appears to have been borne on some Church roll down to the day of his death; and if his life showed gross backslidings, the charitable belief is that he recovered.

In the year 1802, when he was twenty years old, and about the time that he connected himself with the Church, he wrote: "If I prosecute the profession I pray God to fortify me against its temptations." In 1839 he wrote:—

> I am this day fifty-seven years old. . . . For this uncommon health and all the happiness of a life which has been so far exceedingly happy, I desire to render the most devout thanks to almighty God. I thank him for existence; for the pleasure and glory of rational being; for an immortal nature; and for all the gratifications, the joys, and the means of improvement with which he has blessed my earthly life; for the time and the country in which I have lived; and for those objects of love and affection whose being has entwined with my own.

To his old school-master, in 1851, the year before his death, he wrote: "We hardly know for what good to supplicate the divine mercy. Our heavenly Father knoweth what we have need of better than we ourselves; and we are sure that his eye and his loving-kindness are upon us and around us every moment."

His public and private instructions were in the same vein. At the death of Justice Story he said:—

> Political eminence and professional fame fade away and die with all things earthly. Nothing of character is really permanent but virtue and personal worth; these remain. Whatever of excellence is wrought into the soul belongs to both worlds. Real goodness does not attach itself merely to this life; it points to another world. Political or professional reputation cannot last forever; but a conscience void of offense before God and man is an inheritance of eternity. Religion, therefore, is a necessary and indispensable element in any great human character.

To one of his early friends he wrote: "I am happy to hear of your establishment, and the growth of your fame. You have a little world around you; fill it with good deeds, and you will fill it with your own glory."

These and similar expressions all through the writings and speeches of Mr. Webster are not mere words; they are the outflowings of a full heart and a great nature. Mr. Calhoun, his powerful antagonist through so many years in the United States Senate, said of him: "Of all the public men of the day, there is no one whose political course has been more strongly marked by a strict regard to truth and honor." And, surely, if this was true in relation to his political career it was equally true in his every-day life.

Mr. Harvey tells an interesting story of Mr. Webster's visit to his brother-in-law, John Colby, which has been largely copied in the religious newspapers, but it is so instructive as to the religious bent of his mind that it should receive some attention here. The year before Mr. Webster died Mr. Harvey was spending some weeks with him at Franklin, his native place, and one day Mr. Webster proposed to drive over to Andover, and asked Mr. Harvey to go with him. On the way he explained the object of his visit. John Colby, who had married his half-sister, was living there, an old man, and Mr.

Webster, for reasons which he stated, desired to see him. But here is the account in his own words:—

When I was a lad, living at home, John Colby was a smart, driving, trading, swearing yeoman—money-loving and money-getting. He married my oldest sister. She was a religious, good woman, but beaux were not plenty, and Colby was a fine-looking man. His personal habits were good enough, laying aside his recklessness. He was not a drinking man, and he was, as the world goes, a thrifty man. After he married my sister I went away to college and lost sight of him. Finally he went up to Andover, and bought a farm. After a few years, perhaps five or six, my sister died, and then all the interest that any of us had in him pretty much ceased. Now I will give the reason why I am to-day going up to see this John Colby. I have been told by persons who know, that within a few years he has become a convert to the Christian religion, and has met with that mysterious change which we call a change of heart; in other words, has become a consistent, praying Christian.

The narrative goes on to describe the village, the house, and the venerable Colby, now eighty-five years old, sitting at his front door, with a large Scott Bible spread open before him. Mr. Webster had not seen him for forty-five years, and as neither party knew each other the scene was full of interest; and when Mr. Webster finally told him that he was "little Dan that used to ride his horses to water," an expression of wonder and astonishment came over his face, and he burst out:—

You, Daniel Webster? Is it possible that you have come up here to see *me?* Why! why! I cannot believe my senses! And you are a great man. I read about you every day in the newspapers. But, Daniel, the time is short—you wont stay here long—I want to ask you one question. You may be a *great* man; but are you a *good* man? Are you a Christian man? Do you love the Lord Jesus Christ? That is the only question that is worth asking or answering. Are you a Christian? You know, Daniel, what I have been; I have been one of the wickedest of men. Your poor sister, who is now in heaven, knows that. But the Spirit of Christ, of the almighty God, has come down, and plucked me as a brand from the everlasting burning.

All this, and more, for we have shortened the narrative, was said, says Mr. Harvey, in the most earnest and vehement manner, and Colby concluded by saying: "You have not answered me!" Then Mr. Webster proceeded in his deliberate way to reply. He said among other things:—

I hope that I am a Christian. I profess to be a Christian. But while I say that I wish to add—and I say it with shame and confusion of face—that I am not such a Christian as I wish I were. I have lived in the world surrounded by its honors and temptations; and I am afraid that I am not so good a Christian as I ought to be. I am afraid I have not your faith or your hopes; but still I hope and trust that I am a Christian, and that the same grace which has converted you, and made you an heir of salvation, will do the same for me.

The result of the interview was that Colby asked Mr. Webster to pray with him, and all knelt down together, and Mr. Webster first prayed, and then Colby, the latter, as Mr. Harvey says, "praying for the family, for me, and for every body." On leaving, Mr. Webster said to Mr. Harvey, "I should like to know what the enemies of religion would say to John Colby's conversion! After a long life of wickedness," he continued, "we have seen him to-day, a penitent, trusting, humble believer. Whatever people may say, nothing can convince me that any thing short of the grace of almighty God could make such a change as I, with my own eyes, have witnessed in the life of John Colby."

Mr. Webster's death was not that of a faithful, laborious Christian, living in the daily sunshine of God's love; but it was a death of calmness, resignation, and trust, showing no fear and breathing no doubt. He attended carefully to every thing; had his fine cattle driven by the residence, where he could see them; ordered a light hung to the mast of his fishing yacht, to remain there till he was gone; carefully dictated his will; and when it was done thanked God for "strength to do a sensible act." Then "in a full voice," says Mr. Ticknor, "and with a reverential manner, he went on, and prayed for some minutes, ending with the benediction." And when Dr. Jeffries read to him the hymn beginning, "There is a fountain filled with blood," and ending with "I'll sing thy power to save," he said in a strong clear voice, "Amen! amen! amen!"

Mr. Webster's great intellectual powers are conceded by all his contemporaries; and these, with his peculiar wealth of expression and masterly skill in statement, made him the first advocate and the most finished orator in America. Mr. Everett, in speaking of his oratory, says:—

Of the effectiveness of his manner in many parts it would be in vain to attempt to give any one not present the faintest idea. It has been my fortune to hear some of the ablest speeches of the greatest living orators on both sides of the water, but I must confess that I never heard any thing which so completely realized my conception of what Demosthenes was when he delivered the oration for the crown.

And yet, notwithstanding the munificence and magnificence of his endowments, there was evidently a lack. Mr. Parker charges that he never "originated any thing;" but, while this is an overstatement, it is certainly true that many smaller men had much more to do with striking out courses and making policies than he. Dr. Franklin, with perhaps less capacity of intellect, was far more efficient in all practical reforms. He had a certain executive force that Mr. Webster lacked. If he saw a fault in a street pavement or a State Constitution he was impelled to work out a remedy. When a thought flashed through his mind that electricity and lightning might be the same thing, he had an instinctive impulse to put it to the proof. In mechanics he was an inventor, in philosophy a discoverer, in government a reformer. Mr. Webster had nothing of this. He was mainly a thinker; and he seems to have thought most effectively when charged by others with some duty. Hence his important place was as an advocate, whether at the bar or before the Senate.

As a statesman he acted with a political party, but was not apt to be tied down to a political necessity. He had no political affiliation with President Jackson, but he sustained his proclamation against South Carolina, and was the right hand of the Administration in the contest that followed. In the Department of State he was a splendid negotiator, and his papers are remarkable for a clearness and force which made them irresistible. Mr. Parker says:—

When he spoke he was a great spectacle. His noble form, so dignified and masculine, his massive head, the mighty brow, Olympian in its majesty, the great, deep, dark eye, the mouth, so full of strength and determination—these all became the instrument of such eloquence as few men have ever heard. Many have surpassed him in written words; for he could not embody the sunshine in such flowers as Burke, Milton, or Cicero. But since the great Athenians, Demosthenes and Pericles, who ever thundered out such eloquence as he? He laid siege to the understand-

ing. Here lay his strength. He could make a statement better than any man in America, building a causeway from his will to the hearer's mind. No man managed the elements of his argument with more practical effect than he.

Mr. Webster did not live to see the catastrophe which he had combated and foreshadowed. As yet the conflicting elements were not rife for that struggle which was to try to its utmost the strength of his beloved Union. And nine years later, when it culminated in civil war, and there was no arm strong enough to turn aside the blow, it fell upon us, as he had foreseen, with all the calamities of "States dissevered, discordant, belligerent," of a "land rent with civil feuds, and drenched in fraternal blood." But, thanks to Him "who ruleth in the heavens!" the Union was not permanently destroyed; and the sun of peace shines again, as before, on this great cordon of *United* States. The same flag, "known and honored throughout the world," still floats over every part of our wide domain, "its arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a star obscured."

Nay! it is now, more than ever, the ensign of liberty, union, and strength, for its shadow falls on no slave, and the South as well as the North gathers lovingly under its protecting wing. Hence we may say, with even more emphasis than Mr. Webster, that "every-where, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing in all its ample folds as they float over the sea and over the land, is that other sentiment so dear to every American heart—LIBERTY AND UNION, NOW AND FOREVER, ONE AND INSEPARABLE."

Art. VI.—CHRISTIAN PERFECTION AND THE HIGHER LIFE.

The "Higher Life" Doctrine of Sanctification tried by the Word of God. By Henry A. Boardman, D.D., author of "The Apostolical Succession," etc. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. 1877.

Article on *The Higher Life and Christian Perfection*, in the *Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review.* By the Editor, Rev. Lyman H. Atwater, D.D. July, 1877.

A Critical Review of Wesleyan Perfection. In Twenty-four Consecutive Arguments, in which the Doctrine of Sin in Believers is Discussed, and the Proof-texts of Scripture advocating Entire Sanctification as a Second and Distinct Blessing of the Soul after Regeneration, fairly Debated. By the Rev. S. Franklin, M.A., of the Illinois Annual Conference. Cincinnati. 1866.

The Higher Christian Life. By Rev. W. E. Boardman.

The Rest of Faith. By Rev. Isaac M. See.

What is it to be Holy? or, The Theory of Entire Sanctification. An Essay. By Rev. D. W. C. Huntington, D.D., of the East Genesee Conference. 1869.

Love Enthroned. Essays on Evangelical Perfection. By Daniel Steele, D.D. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1876.

Scripture Views of Holiness. By W. M'Donald. Philadelphia: National Publishing Society for the Promotion of Holiness. 1877.

The various branches of the Christian Church owe it to their common Lord and to each other to cultivate the spirit of love and unity, and to have among them as few points as possible of doctrinal difference. Consequently, when controversy arises out of their misapprehensions of each other's positions, those who see that they are misunderstood should feel bound by their obligations to the cause of religion to correct the mistakes which build needless walls of separation. And where real differences exist, it is sometimes a brotherly thing for each party to set forth, not by way of attack nor of defense, but of explanation, the grounds upon which their beliefs are based. Still, after all has been done that can be done to remove false impressions, there will remain irreconcilable differences of opinion, for which each doctrinal section of the Church must bear its own burden of responsibility.

For our peculiar doctrines as Methodists we offer no apology. We seek no exemption from the most searching examination to which any man desires to subject us, only let the examination be scriptural, fair, and conducted in the right spirit. "Let the righteous smite: it shall be an excellent oil." Our aim in this paper is not to exaggerate the existing diversities of opinion in regard to Christian Perfection, but rather to look for

points of substantial agreement, correcting the errors into which our brethren of other denominations have fallen in regard to the doctrine of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and gladly accepting from all sides explanations which tend to bring nearer together God's people of every name.

No doubt, important diversities of opinion exist. We might argue, indeed, that great divergencies are inevitable, seeing that some of the authors named at the head of this article are of "the straitest sect" of Calvinists, and others equally pronounced Arminians, and that the two systems of doctrine are so antagonistic that in matters involving the central ideas of both forms of belief harmony of view is impossible. But this solution fails to explain the facts. No one denomination seems to be unanimous on the subject. Drs. Atwater and H. A. Boardman antagonize Revs. I. M. See and W. E. Boardman as vigorously as they do their Arminian opponents, while Dr. Huntington and Rev. Mr. Franklin, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, come into as sharp collision with Dr. Steele and Rev. Mr. M'Donald as if they did not belong to the same ecclesiastical fold, and that fold one which has been somewhat disposed to boast of its doctrinal unity.

Nor is this inner diversity of judgment in these Churches the evil fruit of any supposed theological anarchy of our own day merely. James Brainard Taylor, fifty years ago, and Samuel Rutherford, two centuries before him, rejoiced in rapturous experiences and a freedom from conscious condemnation, which they expressed in terms and phrases which their Presbyterian brethren are hardly prepared to recommend for general imitation. In like manner, almost in the days of Wesley himself, Jabez Bunting and others dissented from the idea that the innate depravity of the human heart is removed by two distinct and instantaneous processes, one of which occurs at conversion, and the other at some subsequent period, when such second work is made a definite aim, and sought by a specific act of faith.

There are several points upon which all schools of theology agree. One is that the complete sanctification of believers, their perfect deliverance from sin, in every sense of the term, is an integral part of the great plan of redemption. The Methodist theologians argue that, so far as the moral depravity

of the soul is concerned, the work of renewal may be completed during this life. Calvinists in general reason that it must be done at death, but cannot be done till then. Romanists hold that baptism, rightly administered, wholly cleanses the soul from original sin, but that some of the guilt of his personal transgressions clings in most cases even to the believer after his death, awaiting the purifying fires of purgatory.

All Christians agree that the true followers of Christ hate sin, loathe it, abhor it, and struggle, and are in duty bound to struggle for complete deliverance from it. This fact is thus expressed by Dr. Atwater:—

> That the prevalent tone of Christian experience and holy living is quite below the level of scriptural standards and privileges; that there is an urgent call for the great body of Christians to rise to a much higher plane of piety and its visible fruits; that none are so high that they should not make it their supreme endeavor to rise higher; that to struggle onward and upward through the strength, holiness, and grace already attained to yet higher measures of them, so that, receiving grace for grace, they may go from strength to strength toward the goal of sinless perfection whenever and wheresoever attainable; that so there is required the ceaseless effort to get free from sin, and overcome indwelling corruption—are propositions which few will be found to dispute, unless, indeed, some perfectionists dispute the last of them, claiming to have reached entire sinlessness in this life.*

Again, all Methodist writers who have treated of this subject agree with Drs. Atwater and H. A. Boardman, and the Old School Presbyterians generally, in the conviction that in this life no man attains absolute perfection. It is with no manner of hesitation that we concede that it is only in a reduced and modified sense that the term perfection is applicable to any part of the Church militant. Our best obedience here must, in both character and degree, fall far below the standard set before us. The holy law demands the absolute right, in word and deed, in thought and intention, in all obedience, love and devotion. It requires payment of the debt, not only in coin in which there is no trace of alloy, but to "the uttermost farthing." But such service as this can be rendered only where there is a perfect knowledge, not simply of the letter of the divine law, but of the correct practical application of the legal

* "Princeton Review," July, 1877, p. 289.

precept to the endlessly diversified and sometimes hopelessly complicated circumstances and events of daily life. Every good man is conscious that he is often at a loss to know what God and duty require at his hands; and that there are times when his uncertainties in regard to matters of importance burden and distress him. Right and wrong sometimes seem to shade into each other, like the prismatic colors, and the sharpest eye is at a loss to detect the line where the one ends and the other begins. The tenderest conscience will take alarm the soonest, and the better taught will be the least liable to err; but the wisest and the most conscientious have occasion to pause now and then, and wait for clearer light, and perhaps even then wait in vain.

Illustrations of this are not difficult to find in high places. When Paul and Barnabas at Antioch were planning a tour among the Churches, Barnabas had a very positive desire that "John, whose surname was Mark," should accompany them. Paul had an equally decided conviction that Mark ought not to go, seeing that he had "departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work." Neither Paul nor Barnabas would yield; "and the contention was so sharp between them that they departed asunder, one from the other," Barnabas taking Mark, and sailing for Cyprus, and Paul taking Silas and journeying through Syria and Cilicia. Here one or both of them failed of the absolute right. Either Paul, without being aware of it, was unjust to a fellow-disciple, or Barnabas was ready to imperil the work of the Lord by placing Mark in a position which he was not capable of filling. Very possibly in the sharp contention, *παροξυσμός*, which occurred, they were really unjust to each other, and thus another feature of wrong was introduced.

If errors of judgment leading to errors of action are thus liable to intervene when the holiest of men are counseling in regard to the holiest of causes, what may we expect of men immersed in the interests, prejudices, and collisions of ordinary social and business life?

But obedience is defective in degree, as well as in character. Justice, truth and love are required toward our fellow-men; but a still higher and nobler service is required at our hands. We are invited to the fellowship of our Lord Jesus Christ, and

communion with God, and called to serve with all our powers, and to the fullest extent of every power, "in holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life." And who that ever caught by faith a glimpse of the glory of God —the infinitely great, holy and good—"the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth"—did not bow down in lowliest self-abasement in view of the poor service which he renders? The Christian will never feel in this world that his life is all that he would have it. Though faith may never utterly fail, nor love grow cold, nor obedience be forgotten, nor devotion die, yet the most faithful, devotional, and obedient child of God will humble himself in the dust at the remembrance of his infinite obligations to his Creator and Redeemer, and the poor returns which he is making. Thus, if we assume that the intent is right, and the purpose all-controlling, the service will be imperfect, marred in its character by lack of knowledge and errors of judgment, and deficient in degree; and sinless obedience, in the absolute sense of the term, is utterly impossible.

Thus Wesley reasoned, and thus his followers hold. Consequently, those who argue against "sinless perfection," under the impression that they are antagonizing a doctrine of the Methodist Episcopal Church, fight as those who beat the air. Their arrows, like that of Acestes of old, may show the strong arm and the sounding bow, and flame as they fly, but they hit nothing. Wesley repudiated the doctrine, declaring that he never used the phrase "sinless perfection," lest he should "seem to contradict himself." He steadfastly held that the holiest of men need Christ to atone for their omissions, short-comings, and mistakes in judgment and practice, all of which he pronounces "deviations from the perfect law."

Aside from divine grace, man in this life consists of a ruined soul dwelling in a ruined body. When grace reaches and renews the soul, lifting it up from darkness to light, and from Satan to God, so that it becomes a new creation, the body remains the same "muddy vesture of decay" that it was before the transformation of the spirit. The soul, pent up within, sees "through a glass darkly," the reason less strong and searching, the memory less accurate, the emotions less elevated, deep and

continuous, the whole mental and spiritual action dull, feeble, and slow, compared with what it would be if the material organism were perfect. Consequently, our apprehension of God's word and its revelations of grace and glory are less clear; our sorrow for sin, our grateful sense of pardon, our joy in the Lord, our exultation in the hope of eternal life in heaven, our zeal, activity, and usefulness in God's cause among men, are far below what we would fain have them.

There is still another point, upon which we desire to be fully understood. We do not deny, nor feel the slightest disposition to deny, that so long as we remain in this world, however deep, fervent, and thorough our religious life, there will still be sources of danger within us. There inhere in our nature, as essential elements of it, at least in this present life, appetites, passions, and affections, without which man would cease to be man, and be unfitted for this present state of existence. These, although they are innocent in themselves, nevertheless are simply unreasoning impulses, over which we need to keep constant watch and ward, controlling them by reason, conscience, and divine grace; else they lead to sin and death. When Eve in the garden of Eden "saw that the tree was good for food and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise," the temptation was a skillful appeal to elements of her nature which at that time were not depraved, but pure from the hand of the Creator. The desire for pleasant food is not in itself sin; nor is the higher taste, which finds enjoyment in contemplating beautiful forms and colors. Nor can we condemn as wrong the still more elevated instinct of the soul, which delights in mental activity and the acquisition of knowledge. If these instincts and aptitudes had not existed in original human nature, the temptation which Satan presented would have had no power. The deaf adder hears not the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely.

The same principle is beautifully illustrated in the trial of Abraham's faith. When the voice came to him, "Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, . . . and offer him for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of," all the affection which the father bears the child must have risen in mighty opposition to the divine command. This instinctive resistance was not the result of de-

pravity. Abraham would have been below the brutes if he had not felt it in every fiber of his being. It would have been sin in him had he suffered parental affection to sweep away conscience and duty, and plunge him into angry rebellion; but it was not sin for him to yearn with infinite love, pity, and sorrow over his son. We cannot condemn him, nor do we believe that a just and compassionate God condemns him, as he goes up the mountain with a steady step and a fixed purpose, indeed, but with a pallid face and a heart of anguish. Who will condemn him if, when he takes the knife to slay his son, he would gladly have buried it in his own breast, if God would only accept him as a substitute? Faith and fidelity won a great triumph, but the luster of the victory is immeasurably the greater because of the nature of the forces which were overcome.

The illustration of the editor of this Review, derived from the old method of constructing railroads, is as perfect as an illustration can be. The rails were mere flat iron bars spiked upon long timbers laid upon the cross-ties, and now and then the end of a rail, loosened from the wood, lifted itself up, like the head of a serpent, and threw the train from the track. As things were then, the iron bar was an essential part of the railroad. In its proper place, and doing its proper work, it was not only innocent, but wholly useful. Breaking loose from its restraints, and getting out of its proper place, it became a source of danger and a cause of wreck and ruin. Safety required not the abolition of iron rails, but some way of holding them securely in their place.

The thought, we confess, is not a new one. More than a century ago one of the greatest of English thinkers expressed it in an elaborate form. Watson quotes it in his "Institutes" with emphatic indorsement, remarking that, "The following acute observations of Bishop Butler may assist us to conceive how possible it is for a perfectly innocent being to fall under the power of evil." He cites the following passage from the "Analogy:" —

> This seems distinctly conceivable from the very nature of particular affections and propensions. For suppose creatures intended for such a particular state of life, for which such propensions were necessary: suppose them endowed with such propen-

sions, together with moral understanding, as well including a practical sense of virtue as a speculative perception of it; and that all these several principles, both natural and moral, forming an inward constitution of mind, were in the most exact proportion possible, that is, in a proportion the most exactly adapted to their intended state of life: such creatures would be made upright, or finitely perfect. Now, particular propensions, from their very nature, must be felt, the objects of them being present; though they cannot be gratified at all, or not with the allowance of the moral principle. But if they can be gratified without its allowance, or by contradicting it, then they must be conceived to have some tendency, in how low a degree soever, yet some tendency, to induce persons to such forbidden gratifications. This tendency, in some one particular propension, may be increased by the greater frequency of occasions naturally exciting it than of occasions exciting others. The least voluntary indulgence in forbidden circumstances, though but in thought, will increase this wrong tendency; and may increase it further, till, peculiar conjunctions perhaps conspiring, it becomes effect; and danger from deviating from right ends in actual deviation from it, a danger necessarily arising from the very nature of propension, and which, therefore, could not have been prevented, though it might have been escaped and got innocently through. The case would be, as if we were to suppose a straight path marked out for a person, in which such a degree of attention would keep him steady; but if he would not attend in this degree, any one of a thousand objects, catching his eye, might lead him out of it.

So, in the work of sanctification, the various instincts and passions of original human nature do not need to be rooted out of the Christian, but to be disciplined, restrained, chastened, made to obey reason, conscience, and the voice of God. The due enjoyment of pleasant food is not the gluttony which the wise man condemns. A father, in providing for his children, may evince a wise foresight which is by no means the "covetousness which is idolatry." When foul outrage is done to the innocent and the defenseless, we may feel our souls flame with fiery indignation, and be "angry, and sin not." God "setteth the solitary in families" by the instincts and affections with which he endowed man at the beginning, and nothing is more beautiful than the relations which grow out of them, where the divine intent rules, and nothing more debasing and destructive than their abuse.

These instincts and affections being a part of human nature before the fall, no method of theological reasoning is scriptur-

al, no religious discipline is rational, that seeks to purify humanity by their eradication. Simeon the Syrian, hoping to get away from his fellows, the world, and himself, by mounting a pillar—the Romish monk, renouncing the sweet charities of home and friends for his solitary cell, with its skull and hour-glass—are as far from God's idea of holy living as the Hindu devotee on his bed of spikes. These elements of our nature survive the deepest work of grace. When the wondrous change has come to the penitent believer, and he has "put on the new man which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness," it leaves him still human—still nothing less than man The world appeals to him, Satan assails him, and in himself is the tinder which the glancing sparks of temptation tend to kindle. But he may, through the grace of God, offer a steady resistance to every attack, and not fall for one moment into condemnation.

"There is no discharge in that war." Till life itself ends we may expect some form of peril to remain. Forgetting the bounds laid down by law and duty, youth may be given to fleshly lusts, manhood may be ambitious and proud, age misanthropic and avaricious. The innocent appetite to which in Eve the forbidden fruit appealed, may be perverted into the despotic thirst of the inebriate. Her delight in beauty may be the germ from which shall spring a life devoted to mere frivolity and display, and the nobler hunger for knowledge may break away from all authority, and madly labor to reason God out of his own creation. Yet these possibilities of departure from God no more prove the presence of depravity in the Christian than man's freedom to evil as well as good before the fall proves that he was created morally imperfect.

In order to a fair understanding of the case another fact should be stated. As the various Methodist bodies are regarded as the most numerous and prominent advocates and defenders of the doctrine of Christian Perfection, we deem it right to say plainly to its opponents that we are not unanimous in holding it in the precise form in which they generally combat it. Very many of us do not believe that Christian Perfection is a second special blessing, "gained instantaneously by an act of faith," and "not through any process of gradual growth, striving, or advancement toward sinless perfection."

Nor do we believe that the mere fact that a man thinks that he is conscious of having made a complete consecration of himself and all that he possesses justifies him in announcing that a second mighty work of renewal has now been wrought in him.

What is the nature of this act of complete consecration? The reply is, that it is "the laying of all upon the altar." The seeker after a second work bows before God in solemn prayer, and formally consecrates all to him and his service forever. He lays upon the altar life, talents, time, property, wife, children, every thing. But in what sense is all upon the altar? Altars are for sacrifice. Is this a sacrificial act? Does the one who ministers at this altar prepare, like Abraham, to slay his child? Does he leave his home and retire to a monastery? Does he *sell all* that he hath, *and give to the poor?* No, none of these things. What, then, is the practical shape of this act of consecration? It is simply a pious resolution and solemn vow that he will henceforth, by divine help, be a faithful servant of God, and, to the utmost of his powers and opportunities, do the divine will in his business, in his family, in the Church, in public and private, every-where, and at all times.

Such an act is a solemn thing; nor do we wish to underestimate its value. In fact, we do not see how any one can hope for the pardon of his sins till he is ready to make just such a surrender, nor how any one can be living a really Christian life who is not continually renewing this high purpose. So thought Doddridge:—

> "High Heaven, that heard the solemn vow,
> That vow renewed shall daily hear."

Still, when we examine closely we find that this complete consecration is only a formal recognition of our bounden duty, and a solemn renewal of our determination, by the help of God, to faithfully perform it. And, alas! many a resolution of that kind, seeming to "stand as iron pillars strong," fails in the hour of trial. How real our entire consecration is we find out only when the test is applied. And how any Christian, on the strength of a solemn declaration of his good intentions, is authorized, just then and there, to assume the accomplishment of a great and exceptional work of grace in his heart, we con-

fess that we do not see. It seems to us that to teach that any convert of yesterday may at any moment attain the highest grade of Christian experience, if he will only believe that he has it, is to offer a premium for the largest self-conceit, and prepare the way for endless self-deception.

But after all these concessions and explanations, the attentive reader sees that the two great questions involved in the discussion have thus far hardly been touched. They are these:—

1. What scriptural ground is there for the belief that the Christian may in this life be delivered from the moral depravity which he inherited as a member of a fallen race?

2. How far, and in what sense, is it scriptural for the believer to hope that he may in this life be kept by divine grace from the commission of sin?

We are aware that the Arminian Churches and our Calvinistic brethren are so far apart that constant explanations of terms are needed, that we may not wholly misunderstand each other, and that after all possible explanation there will yet remain differences of opinion which are utterly irreconcilable, because they do not end with the particular subject now under consideration, but reach down to the very foundations of our respective systems of doctrine. It is also evident that within the brief limits of a review article little can be done in the way of argument upon matters on which scores of volumes have been written. The utmost we hope to do is to state the different positions held, and explain somewhat the different paths by which they are reached.

In pursuance of this plan, we note the fact that neither Dr. Boardman, in his able book, nor Dr. Atwater, in his able article, draws any sharp line of distinction between depravity and transgression, the enmity of the unrenewed heart to God and the wrong action which that enmity prompts. Like Wesley, they employ the word "sin" to express both, thereby enveloping the whole subject in mist, and rendering the argument unsatisfactory to those who are accustomed to draw the line. Perhaps their omission arises from the courteous habit of stepping lightly when they have occasion to cross a corner of their old denominational battle-field. That it is well to make the distinction, or even necessary, is shown by the fact that many

of those whom Dr. Boardman seeks to refute teach that a residue of depravity is left in believers at conversion, and that the removal of this residue constitutes the beginning of the higher life.

The Presbyterian Confession of Faith teaches that there is such a residue. It says that by their transgression our first parents "fell from their original righteousness and communion with God, and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body;" that "the guilt of this sin was imputed, and the same death in sin and corrupted nature conveyed to all their posterity," except our Lord Jesus Christ, and that "from their original corruption, whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual transgressions."

"The Exposition of the Confession of Faith," published by the Presbyterian Board of Publication, adds the following comment: "This is what is commonly called ORIGINAL SIN. Though that phrase is often restricted to the corruption of nature derived to us from Adam, yet, in its proper latitude, it includes, also, the imputation of guilt."

Here the phrase "original sin" is made to include three entirely different things: 1. The guilt of Adam's sin; 2. The depravity of the soul; 3. The damage done to the body. If all these are included, we need spend little breath in discussing the question of perfection of any sort in this life. On this principle there can be no escape for the believer before death, nor at death, nor even after death, till the resurrection. Here the different schools of theology diverge. Arminians do not believe that all the descendants of Adam are accounted guilty, in any proper sense of that word, of Adam's sin. To show that innumerable woes have come upon us in consequence of his transgression proves nothing to the purpose. Children in our own day suffer untold neglect and abuse because of the inebriety of the parent; but this is no proof that God considers them drunkards, and proposes to punish them as such; nor does the dangerous proclivity to alcoholic indulgence which they may inherit furnish, of itself, good grounds for their damnation.

Still another thing ought not to be confounded with moral

depravity. By its union with the body the active powers of the soul itself are dulled and practically lessened, so that as a thinking and emotional being man is smaller and weaker than he would have been had the material nature retained its original perfection. This may be inference only, but it is inferred from numerous and significant facts. Disease in the space of a few days makes the strong man mentally a child; age does the same thing by slower process; yet we cannot believe that disease seizes upon the immortal spirit, or that the soul decays with years. These effects are but the darkening of the windows through which the spirit looks, the dulling of the tools with which it works. It seems reasonable to infer, therefore, that as the body here is not perfect, the soul is hindered and hampered by it, and all intellectual and emotional action is less powerful and complete than it would otherwise be. Nevertheless, we cannot deem these effects sin, nor depravity, in the true sense of the term, inasmuch as they are not matters of choice, and when they are most apparent the whole weight of the reason, the conscience, and the will may be thrown in the right direction.

What, then, is depravity? Would not some confusion of thought be avoided if all could agree to define it as the corruption of the soul, by reason of the fall, "whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil?" Surely the immortal nature suffers through the fall, not only with the body, but as much more seriously than the body as the soul is superior to it. The sorest wound inflicted upon man must be not in his mortal but his immortal being. If the fall affected the body only, then the spirit of the vilest sinner, dying impenitent and hopeless, would enter the other world an angel of light. Moral depravity is as real and positive a quality of the fallen spirit as holiness is of the redeemed and regenerated spirit. This is the element in the natural man which is "not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be." This is the evil heart out of which proceed the things which defile the man. This is the evil power which wrests from its proper place, or lifts into monstrous proportions, every natural instinct and passion; which turns love into lust, and natural thirst into the drunkard's despotic appetite, and prudence into avarice, and courage

into murderous violence. So long as this defilement remains it unfits the soul for loyal service here and heaven hereafter, and renders it, in itself, a thing abhorred of God.

Holding steadily to this definition of depravity, the question is, Do the Scriptures encourage us to believe that there is in this life complete deliverance from it? Must the Christian wait of necessity for death to set him free from the enemy which he loathes and hates?

The Presbyterian standards answer thus: "This sanctification is throughout in the whole man, yet imperfect in this life; there abideth still some remnants of corruption in every part."—*Confession*, chap. xiii. Dr. H. A. Boardman says that sanctification "is a gradual work, and will surely reach its perfection, but only when the pilgrim reaches his heavenly home." He also quotes, with strong approval, the words of Bishop Hopkins, of the Church of England:—

> O, it would be a blessed word of promise if God should say to us concerning our lusts, as Moses did to the Israelites, "Those Egyptians whom ye have seen this day" pursuing your souls, ye "shall see them again no more forever." But no: these Canaanites are suffered to be thorns in our eyes, and scourges in our sides, to sweeten the place of our future rest. When we are most victorious over them, all we can do is to make them subject and tributary: for they have so possessed the fastnesses of our souls that there is but one mortification can drive them out, and that is our dissolution. It was only sin that brought death into the world; and it is only death that can carry sin out of the world.—P. 116.

This looks rather dark for the peace and comfort of the believer, but other quotations are, in a certain way, somewhat more encouraging:—

> It is by the wisdom, not by the impotence, of God that no believer is ever perfect here below. We must know that our old state, with its evil principles, continueth still in a measure, or else we shall not be fit for the great duties of confessing our sins, loathing ourselves for them, praying earnestly for the pardon of them, etc.—Pp. 171, 173.

Bunyan is quoted as having discovered "seven abominations" in his heart, and comforting himself with the reflection; "yet the wisdom of God doth order them for my good."—P. 264.

But do not our opponents confess that their case is in very bad shape, when in order to defend it they are compelled to take the position that the continuance of depravity in the heart and the daily commission of sin are wise and good things? Sin is no remedy for sin. It hardens the heart, dulls the spiritual vision, wars against faith, hope, and charity, and drags steadily downward. The Christian does not need to go on sinning in order to be reminded of the evil of sin and the necessity of pardon. He will sorrow over his past offenses. Although they are pardoned, they still form a part of his history, and not even Omnipotence can remove them thence. Was not Paul forgiven? Yet he humbled himself in the dust in view of the past, declaring that he is "not meet to be called an apostle," because he "persecuted the Church of God." He did not need to continue in that sin, or any other, that he might "be fit for the great duties of confessing his sins, and loathing himself for them." He that sees the glory of a divine hope thrown upon the dark background of the years spent in sin, feels in his heart the joy of a great salvation, and marks the woes and sorrows all about him brought into the world by sin, does not require the aid of present guilt to remind him of the rock whence he was hewn, and the hole of the pit whence he was digged. To argue the utility of the continuous commission of sin is monstrous.

Moreover, the very moment we assume that it is "by the wisdom of God" that Christians remain corrupt, we give a very good reason why they need not be specially humbled by it. Men do not usually feel ashamed to confess that they have not escaped the inevitable nor conquered the invincible. Why should we resist what the wisdom of God directs? "O man, who art thou that repliest against God?" If seven abominations are ordered for the good of Bunyan, why not wish for seven more, or "seventy times seven?" Surely the logical positions from which such inferences are possible cannot be sound. Whatever the other may be, this spiritual homeopathy, *similia similibus curantur*, cannot be true. The idea that the Christian must remain corrupt and live in the constant commission of sin, else he will not be "fit for the great duties of confessing his sins, loathing himself for them, and praying earnestly for the pardon of them," is not good sense. It is send-

ing Naaman home to Damascus with a burning patch of his leprosy left upon him, lest he shall forget that "there is a prophet in Israel." It is compelling Lazarus for the remainder of his natural life to wear his grave-clothes and carry about him the noisome smell of decay, to remind him that he has been raised from the dead.

Our opponents have a favorite illustration, which has been used so long that it seems to be regarded by some of them as a powerful argument. The remains of depravity in the heart of a child of God are compared to the Canaanites left in the land of Israel, the history being so recited as to make the impression that it was the divine plan to leave them there for the purpose of holding the people of God to their duty. The simple facts are these: Israel did not need at once the whole of the territory promised them, and therefore the Lord directed them to drive out the inhabitants only as they were prepared to occupy the land themselves. He said to them, "Thou mayest not consume them at once, lest the beast of the field increase upon thee." Thus the Canaanites were left in possession of a part of the land *to prove* Israel in the next generation, when the trumpet of war should again be sounded, and Israel march to the conquest of the new territory needed by the growing people. But so far as the Hebrews actually took possession of the land not an idolater was to be left. The express command was to drive them out utterly. "They shall not dwell in the land, lest they make thee sin against me." The promise was, "I will drive out the Canaanite," and there was added the significant warning, "But if ye will not drive out the inhabitants of the land from before you, then it shall come to pass that those which ye let remain of them shall be pricks in your eyes and thorns in your sides." And this matter, forsooth, is cited to show why God leaves depravity in the hearts of all his children till the day of their death! Strange, that so palpable a perversion of Scripture history should be parroted over and over for centuries by wise and learned men.

But "to the law and to the testimony." Quoting the language of Dr. Boardman, but turning it around to face in the other direction, we, too, exclaim, "We do not want your inferences and speculations. We demand a 'Thus saith the Lord,' in support of your dictum," that a Christian as long as he

lives in this world must have "trouble from his inward corruptions," and go on sinning. The Confession of Faith, which claims direct Scripture authority for all its doctrines, cites four passages in support of its declaration that in this life "there abideth still some remnants of corruption in every part." "If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us." 1 John i, 10. "Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect." Phil. iii, 12. "For I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing. But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind." Rom. vii, 18, 23.

These passages, then, are admitted to be the most direct Scripture authority to be found for the doctrine of the Confession. The evidence certainly is not very strong. The passage from John is nothing to the purpose. To say that "we have not sinned" is by no means the same thing as to declare that we are not this very moment sinning. Paul, referring to the resurrection and reward, declares that, although he has not yet attained, neither is already perfect, he is pressing on "toward the mark for the prize." He evidently speaks of what he elsewhere calls the crown and the glory. But in the very next sentence but one he refers directly to gracious attainments and character, and uses this language: "Let us, therefore, as many as be perfect, be thus minded." And we confess that it is with no little surprise we note the fact that Dr. Boardman quotes Paul's disclaimer with emphasis, commending his "beautiful humility," and adding the triumphant conclusion, "Paul is a poor witness for any scheme of perfection in this life," but takes no more notice of the other passage, where exactly the same word is used, than if it had no existence. Nor is this the only omission of the kind? It would seem that the author, in planning his volume, determined to attempt no explanation of the passages in which the words *perfect* and *perfection* are found. We will not undertake to divine the reasons which led to the adoption of this method; but we may be allowed to express the opinion that this is hardly the way to argue doctrinal questions before those who are within easy reach of the Bible Society.

Paul writes to the Romans describing inner conflicts; but learned commentators are divided in their judgments, some

receiving it as a delineation of Paul's present experience, others thinking that it refers to the past, others still concluding that Paul thus represented, in a personal, dramatic way, the experience of awakened sinners in general.

If we make the extreme supposition that Paul confesses that he was living in the constant commission of willful sin, at the time to which he refers, where is the proof that he thus sinned to the end of his life? Where is the proof that James or John, Zacharias or Elizabeth, or Mary, the mother of Christ, at no time of their lives ever had any better experience? Remember, "We do not want your inferences. We demand a 'Thus saith the Lord.'"

If the great exemplars of faith, who will shine the brightest in the day when the Lord "makes up his jewels," never lived an hour without actual sin, who are the "cursed children" whom Peter describes as those who "cannot cease from sin?" And if the passage from John, instead of proclaiming the universal need of a Saviour, is designed to teach that the most faithful servant of God lives in the constant commission of sin, and as long as he lives must war with the depravity of his own nature, how happens it that the very next verse contains one of the broadest, fullest, sweetest promises to be found in all God's word? "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." Here but one condition is named, the penitent, believing confession of sin, and two blessed gifts of infinite grace are given, the pardon of sin, and the cleansing of the soul from all unrighteousness.

The pardon is admitted to be bestowed now; where is the cleansing declared to be withheld till the hour of death? Paul prays for the Thessalonians, that they might be "sanctified wholly," and their "whole spirit, and soul, and body" might be "preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." Was there any danger that these believers would not be sanctified and blameless after death, and, therefore, Paul intercedes in their behalf? If it refers to this life, is it not a prayer that the Thessalonian Christians may be kept, even here, from all that is properly called sin? Zacharias, filled with the Holy Ghost, blessed the Lord God of Israel for the near advent of the promised Redeemer, through whose mighty

aid we may be "delivered out of the hand of our enemies," and serve God "without fear, in holiness and righteousness before him, all the days of our life." This certainly refers to life here, not solely to life hereafter. The "Thus saith the Lord" needed to demonstrate that every Christian, however faithful and devoted, must remain corrupt in heart and soul, and live in the constant commission of sin, properly so called, till his dying hour, cannot be found.

Moreover, the doctrine that "death is the only thing that can carry sin out of the world" is not altogether free from embarrassment. Enoch and Elijah did not die, consequently they were wholly cleansed while living, or not cleansed at all. And at the last day, as Paul assures us, the whole Church of God, who shall be living on the earth, "shall not sleep," but "be changed in a moment," this mortal putting on immortality. And if Enoch and Elijah were wholly purified while living, and all the believers living at the last day shall be, where is the Scripture proof that by the express purpose and direct determination of God not another believer shall in this life be saved from sin, while the world standeth?

The case of Lazarus is still more perplexing. He believed on Jesus. He died, literally and truly. Was he cleansed from all remains of depravity in his dying moments? If not, whither did his spirit go, and where was it during the four days? He was raised again from the dead, not immortal, but mortal, else Christ is not "the first-fruits of them that slept." If his spiritual nature was freed from all depravity at the moment of his death, in what state was it, when he was raised from the dead? Did it remain pure, or did God, restoring him to mortal life, put back the depravity from which he had been cleansed in death? If the soul of Lazarus was corrupt after his resurrection, it is clear either that it was not cleansed in death, or that at the moment of his restoration to life the blessing of purity was rent away from him, and he was plunged again into the mire from whose stains he had just been washed. If he remained clean and white, where is the proof that by the express will and purpose of God he is the only example, since the fall, of this gift among living men, in all human history?

Dr. Boardman cites the "Pilgrim's Progress" as proof that it is the sense of the whole Church that the Christian must

live in sin and sin live in the Christian till his dying hour. We cheerfully admit the evidence of this witness. Those who are called Perfectionists read the immortal dream with as much enthusiasm as their opponents, recognizing the Sloughs of Despond, the Hills of Difficulty, the battles and the wounds, the lights and the shadows, which they have themselves found in the way. It must be confessed, too, that Christian is described as guilty of conduct which, being interpreted, may be understood to represent sin in believers. He falls asleep in dangerous places, and for the sake of a smoother path leaves the right way, falls into the hands of Giant Grim, and narrowly escapes death. Still, Bunyan is careful to show that these wanderings are in every case needless. The reader must be a greater dreamer than Bunyan if he gets only the idea that Pilgrim must of necessity go wrong, now and then, in order to "fit him for the great duties of confessing his sins and loathing himself for them."

Moreover, in making up this argument against the "Perfectionists," how came it to be forgotten that Greatheart goes over the self-same route, and never wanders a step out of the path, never does an act or utters a word that can be construed to represent sin? Christiana and Mercy, too, are fortunate in their pilgrimage, and even the boys never wander from the way, or fall into the hands of the enemy for an hour, except Matthew, the eldest, who, we regret to say, ate some green plums which grew in Beelzebub's orchard, and "was much pained in his bowels, and was with it at times pulled, as it were, both ends together." Let it be noted, also, that they communed with Mr. Holyman, Mr. Honest, Mr. Standfast, Mr. Valiant-for-the-truth, and many a beautiful character represented as spotless in word and deed.

The obvious lesson which the portrayal of Greatheart teaches is that grace, intelligence, courage, and fidelity are able to make the Pilgrim victorious all along the way from the Slough of Despond to the very gates of the Celestial City. As if to prevent all possible mistakes on this point Greatheart, Contrite, and the rest, fall to discussing the conditions of successful pilgrimage, and Mr. Holyman declares that the two great requisites are "courage and an unspotted life."

But while we have our opponents' witness on the stand,

suppose we examine him a little further. The "Holy War" was written for the express purpose of illustrating the work of grace in the soul, and Bunyan, Calvinist as he is, forgets himself so far as to represent Immanuel as driving Diabolus completely out of the city before he will consent to take up his abode therein. When the defenses begin to fail, Diabolus sends Mr. Loath-to-stoop to treat with Immanuel, and secure for him some little spot where he may remain in quiet. The Prince replies: "I will not grant him, no, not the least corner of Mansoul to dwell in: I will have all to myself." "If Mansoul come to be mine, I shall not consent that there should be the least scrap, shred, or dust of Diabolus left behind." Let it be borne in mind that these are the terms of the first surrender, not of some final work of deliverance. Verily, Bunyan's allegories are hardly available for the purpose for which Dr. Boardman quotes them. It is not the first time that the evidence of a witness has proved damaging to the very party that called him into court.

The second question involved in the discussion is, How far and in what sense may the believer hope in this life to be kept by divine grace from the commission of sin?

Dr. Boardman's position is that the Christian must live all his life in the constant commission of sin. In proof of this he cites the Lord's Prayer, the argument being that we are instructed to offer daily the petition, "Forgive us our trespasses;" therefore Christians commit sin daily, otherwise the prayer is needless. Great stress is laid upon this reasoning, and we are informed that "Perfectionists of all schools have been embarrassed by the Lord's Prayer." We never before heard of this general embarrassment. If any *doctor subtilis*, like Duns Scotus, or even more subtle than he, will show us that no one ought to repeat the prayer unless he is conscious that the guilt of unpardoned sin rests upon him; that it is wrong for any man to repeat it unless he has willfully sinned against God, since he prayed the last time previously, then we will confess that there may be cases where we need to pause and consider what to do. For instance, if the Sabbath-school closes with the Lord's Prayer, and the regular Church service, ten minutes afterward, begins with it, we can imagine some saint of lofty stature, like Enoch, or Elijah, or Zacharias, or

Elizabeth, living, by the mighty power of God, through that period of ten minutes without the willful commission of sin, and so having no present willful sin to confess.

But no subtle doctor has attempted the demonstration, and no such construction can be forced upon the prayer. The believer, who knows that he has "passed from death unto life," who feels that his sins are all forgiven, may offer the prayer, humbly and sincerely, in perpetual recognition of the fact that he is a sinner saved by grace, by the pardoning love of God, and the atonement of Christ; that the best service which he renders is a poor service, marred by ignorance and weakness; and that it is only through the infinite mercy of God that he has a good hope of eternal life. Surely there is meaning in the prayer where there is no sense of sins unforgiven.

Indeed, if embarrassment is to be felt anywhere, it looks to us as if our Calvinistic brethren have the best title to it. The Confession of Faith informs us that "God doth continue to forgive the sins of those that are justified," and that they "can never fall from the state of justification." If this be true, then they must be forgiven in advance, or, at the latest, at the very moment of their sinning. If pardon lags five seconds after the sin the sinning believer is, for the space of five seconds, in a state of condemnation. The "Exposition of the Confession" declares that the sins which believers "afterward commit cannot revoke the pardon which God has graciously given them." Whitefield expressed it thus: "One act of faith forever and forever justifies." If this be so, what becomes of Dr. Boardman's argument? On this principle a believer's sins are forgiven before he has time to pray for pardon. The sin and the pardon must occur exactly at the same instant of time, else the believer for a certain period, whatever it may be, falls into condemnation. Why say, "Forgive us our trespasses," if they are already forgiven? They are forgiven, too, before there is time to repent of them, or form a resolution to forsake them. What use, then, has a believer for the Lord's Prayer, even if he knows that he is living in the constant commission of sin? If he is logically consistent with the doctrine stated, he may burst out in exultant thanksgivings that no sin committed now can "revoke the pardon" given him in the day of his justification; but he has no more reason, logically, to pray for the

pardon of the sins of to-day than for the subsidence of Noah's flood.

But in what sense do Arminians hold that believers may be kept by the power of God from the commission of sin? We believe that the provisions and promises of the Gospel extend thus far, that they authorize the Christian to look for grace that shall keep him from choosing sin, from committing offenses which destroy present peace and imperil the soul. As John Wesley defines it, believers may be kept from "voluntary transgressions of known law." We have already stated in explicit terms that the obedience of the most devoted Christian, measured by the standard of absolute right, is found defective at every point. When we say, therefore, that men may live free from the sins which bring into condemnation, we are brought face to face with what seems to some a formidable objection.

We are accused of cutting down the law in order to make sinless obedience possible. Wesley remarks that unavoidable errors and mistakes, though they are deviations from the perfect law, and so need the atonement, do not bring the believer into condemnation, and therefore, for the sake of accuracy of speech, ought not to be confounded with offenses willfully and knowingly committed. Dr. Atwater quotes his language, and exclaims, "Out upon such casuistry!" Nevertheless, there is such a distinction. Man may be unable to draw the line, but the eye of God sees it. The great Teacher himself makes a difference between the servant who knows his Lord's will and the one who knows it not. The Levitical law made a broad distinction between sins of ignorance and those committed *presumptuously*. For the one class there was atonement, for the other there was none. Human law often inquires after intentions. To slay a man is not always murder; mistaken evidence is not always perjury. Loose definitions and careless applications may work evil; nevertheless, the principle exists.

Wesley never taught that where any degree of ignorance is involved all offenses are sinless. There are cases where ignorance is itself a grievous sin. The watchman on the railroad who knows that the express train is approaching, but does not know whether the track is rightly placed or not, and is too in-

dolent to go and see, and thus perform the duty for which he is paid his daily wages, is guilty of criminal neglect. But suppose that he goes with his lantern and finds that one switch is in position and securely locked, and then goes to examine the other a hundred rods away, and while he is gone thieves, hoping for plunder, wrench off the lock and throw the rails out of position, is he guilty, in the sight of God or man, if he boldly swings his signal and shouts, "All right!" while the train thunders on to its destruction?

Wesley, reasoning as an Arminian, held that after true conversion a man may so offend against the divine law as to forfeit peace with God, and fall again into condemnation. But offenses, he thought, may be committed against the letter of the law under circumstances which do not involve the same fatal consequences. These last, he judges, ought somehow to be distinguished in terms from the others; and for this Dr. Atwater cries, "Out upon such casuistry!" and declares it redolent of Antinomian heresy. Another writer even sees in it an adoption of the Romish distinction between venial and mortal sins.

But let us look before we leap to a conclusion. Which of these two systems of doctrine savors of Antinomianism, or tends toward Rome? The one reasons that, while the humble, earnest believer, who trusts in Christ as his only hope, and is trying with all his heart to do the divine will, may fail to meet the requirements of a perfect law, his inevitable mistakes and deficiencies do not bring him into condemnation, yet that a single transgression of the divine precept, known at the time to be sin, involves his soul in peril, and is a step toward eternal death. The other teaches that in justification the pardon of all sin, past, present, and future, is secured; and that, although it may provoke God's "fatherly displeasure," and even bring temporary chastisement, no sin committed after conversion, however foul and deliberate, can for one moment bring the soul into condemnation, or impair in the slightest degree its title to heaven. So far as the ultimate salvation of the soul is concerned, the difference between Wesley and Calvinism is that what Wesley concludes in regard to the believer's involuntary infractions of the perfect law Calvinism affirms in regard to all manner of deliberate sin.

In regard to the charge of imitating Romish error, dividing sin into two classes, the venial and the mortal, our Calvinistic brethren seem to us far more deeply involved than we in that condemnation. Rome teaches that there are mortal sins into which the believer may fall, and thereby bring upon him the wrath of God and the peril of eternal death. Other sins, which Rome calls venial, involve a certain degree of guilt, which demands punishment for a limited period, but does not ultimately forfeit heaven. How far does this latter class of offenses differ from the sins committed after justification, as defined by the Confession of Faith?

"God doth continue to forgive the sins of those that are justified; and although they can never fall from the state of justification, yet they may by their sins fall under God's fatherly displeasure, and not have the light of his countenance restored unto them until they humble themselves, confess their sins, beg pardon, and renew their faith and repentance."—Chap. xi. The chief difference between the two seems to be that Calvinism includes greater degrees of guilt, and locates its Purgatory on earth, while Rome threatens a worse punishment for smaller offenses.

But these *argumenta ad hominem* do not settle the question. "To the law and to the testimony." Against the theories and reasonings of men we set the numerous declarations of God's word. He that believes in Christ is, according to the Scriptures, "a new creature;" he has "put off the old man with his deeds," and has "put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him." He is said to be "free from sin;" he is said to be "sanctified" and "holy," and is called a "saint," while the blood of Christ "cleanseth" him "from all sin." In regard to the Christian's daily life, God declares that he is faithful, and will not suffer him to be "tempted above" that he is "able," but will "make a way of escape." He cheers the hearts of his servants in their warfare by a blessed promise of universal application, "My grace is sufficient for thee." Commands to be holy, exhortations to be holy, prayers that God's people may be holy, and promises of grace to help them to be holy, are found on almost every page of holy writ.

We are told, too, that a state of grace which God himself

calls *perfection* is attainable in this life. Christians are exhorted to "grow in grace, grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ." They are assured that apostles and prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers, are given "for the perfecting of the saints, . . . till we all come in the unity of the faith, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ." The means of this growth are named. "Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth." "All Scripture is given by the inspiration of God, . . . that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished to every good work."

There is, then, by the word of God, a ripeness and roundness of Christian character which bear the same relation to the new life that the full corn in the ear bears to the springing blade. One Bible name for this spiritual maturity is *perfection.* Thus Noah and Job are said to be "perfect." Paul writes: "Let us, as many as be perfect, be thus minded," and we are exhorted to "mark the perfect man," for his end "is peace." In scores of passages the word "perfect" is employed to describe the character and conduct of living men; and the closest critical examination of the original language in nowise impairs the force of the term. Our opponents know this as well as we, but say that as the exemplars of faith, both in the Old Testament and the New, sometimes lapsed from this standard, we must explain away these strong expressions, or construe them as delineations of the work of sanctification, as it will be when completed at death.

There is a third interpretation, which we prefer to either of the methods named, because it seems more natural, and more in accordance with the general tenor of God's word. We believe that these passages describe the thoroughness of the work wrought at conversion, and the continuous victories of the new life to which the Christian is called. They affirm that it is his blessed privilege, through the infinite grace of God vouchsafed him every moment, to live at this level, free from the willful offenses which bring into condemnation; and that, if he fails to do it, it is not because divine grace is insufficient for him, but because in the freedom of his own will he yields to temptation, where, at the very moment of his fall, he ought to stand, and might stand.

Consequently, when one who has borne every mark of a child of God lapses into open sin, we do not infer that he was a hypocrite, or that his conversion left him in so helpless a state that nothing better could be justly expected of him. Nor do we infer that he fell because just at that time God let go of him, in order to show him that in himself he was helpless. We do not look upon David's adultery and murder, and Solomon's idolatry and debauchery, with a sort of devout wonder, marveling that such things should form a part of God's wise designs. We condemn them, utterly and totally, as things that neither ought to be nor need to be. We say that David and Solomon sinned against God and their own souls, forfeited the divine favor and their title to eternal life, and that if they had died in the state they then were they would have been eternally lost. We affirm that every sin into which a man knowingly and willfully ventures after his conversion imperils his immortal soul. We reason that the fearful falls of good men recorded in the Scriptures are not proofs of the incompleteness of the work of renewal, or that the continuous commission of willful sin must stain the life of the most devoted child of God till the hour of his death. They are proofs, rather, that conversion does not end probation; that possibilities of failure still remain, and that it behooves every man, whatever advance he may have made in divine things, to "keep his body under, lest that by any means he should be a castaway."

Here we see the fact noted at the beginning, that the Calvinistic and the Arminian systems of doctrine are so diverse that what is accepted as a logical process by the adherents of the one may be utterly rejected by the other. Both parties admit, what, alas! cannot be denied, that after a man has become a true child of God he may fall into grievous sin. From this point we diverge. The Arminian believes that the fallen one is in imminent peril; that to choose sin consciously and willfully is to forfeit God's favor, and fall again into condemnation; and while God may, in infinite mercy, still strive with him by his Holy Spirit, and call upon him to return, it is possible for the fallen one to turn a deaf ear to the voice of love, and die eternally. The Calvinist holds that sin may bring God's "fatherly displeasure" upon the erring child, and even sore chastisement; nevertheless, the worst of sins cannot bring him

again into condemnation, nor revoke the pardon given him when he first believed, nor for one moment endanger his eternal salvation. These totally opposite views of the possible consequence of sin committed after conversion grow directly out of the two different doctrinal systems, and neither party can give way without bringing their whole edifice into logical wreck.*

Art. VII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

American Catholic Quarterly Review, July, 1878. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Protestant Theory of Church Genesis. 2. La Salle and the Jesuits. 3. The Syriac Ferial Office. 4. Catholic Poetry of the English Language. 5. The Plantation of Desmond. 6. Sixtus V. 7. Socialistic Communism in the United States.

Bibliotheca Sacra, July, 1878. (Andover.)—1. Isocrates. 2. Christ and Paul. 3. Erasmus Darwin. 4. Succoth and Penuel not yet Identified. 5. On the Latin Equivalent of the Name in Luke ii. 2, translated Cyrenius. 6. Future Punishment of the Wicked as Revealed in the Old Testament. 7. The Meaning of יהוה. 8. Illustrated Sermons, or Truth Addressed to the Eye.

Lutheran Quarterly, July, 1878. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Apparition at Endor. 2. The Ethiopic Book of Baruch. 3. The True Position of the Lutheran Church in Relation to the Authority of Human Creeds, before the Publication of the Form of Concord, in 1580. 4. History of the Hebrew Translation of the New Testament. 5. Objections to the Cause of Ministerial Education Considered. 6. Course and Character of Emigration, and What Per Cent. is Available to the Lutheran Church. 7. Of the Use of the Sacraments.

New-England Historical and Genealogical Register, July, 1878. (Boston.)—1. Biographical Sketch of the Hon. Henry Wilson. 2. Henshaw's Account of the Stamp-Act Riot. 3. Record from the Leonard Family Bible. 4. Autobiography of William Rotch. 5. Robert Campbell and his Descendants. 6. A Yankee Privateersman in Prison. 7. Record Book of the First Church in Charlestown, Mass. 8. Genealogy of the Woodbridge Family. 9. Bryent's Winnepesaukee Journal. 10. Longmeadow, Mass., Families. 11. Prison Ships and Old Mill Prison. 12. Inventory of the Estate of Thaddeus M'Carty, of Virginia. 13. Pedigree of Haynes of Coppord Hall. 14. Taxes under Gov. Andros. 15. Abstracts of Earliest Wills in Suffolk County, Mass. 16. Descendants of Edward Shepard. 17. Parkers of America. 18. A Relic of Cromwell.

Southern Review, July, 1878. (Baltimore.)—1. The Christian Cosmos. 2. Fifty Years of My Life. 3. Edwards on the Will. 4. Progress in Human Thought. 5. The Telephone and Phonograph. 6. The Greek Church. 7. Literature and Style. 8. Celibacy in the Christian Church. 9. Dr. Dabney and Dr. Bledsoe. 10. The Rock of our Salvation.

Universalist Quarterly, July, 1878. (Boston.)—1. The Medieval Puritans and Universalists. 2. Lewes' Physical Basis of Mind. 3. Christianity in the Suppression of Gladiatorial Games. 4. The To-morrow of Death. 5. The St. Albans Raid: An Episode of the Rebellion. 6. The Book of Enoch and the Apocrypha. 7. German Universities.

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* For any specialties of opinion in this article the author is responsible.—Ed.

New Englander, July, 1878. (New Haven.)—1. Reaction of New England on English Puritanism, in the Seventeenth Century. 2. A Critical Examination of the New Testament Teachings with Respect to the Office of the Holy Spirit. 3. The Pacific Railroads and the Government. 4. A Dangerous Principle in Congregationalism. 5. What shall we do with our Tramps? 6. How to Deal with Communism. 7. Shall Incomes be Taxed? 8. Nihilism in Russia, as it appears in the Novels of Ivan Turgénieff.

September, 1878.—1. Chauncey Wright as a Philosopher. 2. Thorough Personal Preparation in Sunday-School Work. 3. The Student in American Colleges. 4. Reaction of New England on English Puritanism in the Seventeenth Century. (Second Article.) 5. The Pacific Railroads and the Government, (Second Article.) 6. The Japanese, as Compared with the Roman Family. 7. The Ancient and the Modern Jew. 8. Religious Education of the Colored People of the South.

The article on "Religious Education of the Colored People of the South," by Colonel J. T. L. Preston, of Lexington, Virginia, is one of the most refreshing tokens of the quarter. It is written by a genuine son of the South, whose military title indicates that he fought on the Confederate side in the civil war, but his unsectional, unsectarian spirit of religion and philanthropy is limited by no latitudes or longitudes. As a statesman and a Christian he recognizes the momentous importance of raising the colored people of our country into a due fitness, as educated Protestant freemen, for the exercise of their duties as citizens. He recognizes the great movement of evangelical denominations in the North, which pours forth treasures and labors and sacrifices for this purpose, to be, what it truly is, a result of the most deeply Christian impulse. So long and so constantly have our Southern brethren maligned this movement, talking as if there were a terrible oppression in bestowing schools, colleges, and churches and moneys upon the Southern section, that we welcome Colonel Preston as a harbinger. Wise, liberal, Christian, patriotic men in the South are coming to the front. We of the North too must not forget that it is not so many years (we, personally, remember it well) since Prudence Crandall was prosecuted and imprisoned in jail for establishing a colored school in Connecticut. The pages of the New Englander are just the place for the Virginian; and the combination recalls to mind the day, so beautifully described in the great speech of Daniel Webster, when Massachusetts and South Carolina stood side by side, and Washington's great arm leaned upon them both alike.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW. July, 1878. (London.)—1. How is Sin to End? 2. Pope Pius IX. 3. On Serfdom in Scotland, and its Connection with the Early Church. 4. Two Scottish Ecclesiastics: Robert Buchanan and Alexander Ewing. 5. The Yale Lectures on Preaching. 6. Review of Recent Literature on the Criticism and Interpretation of the New Testament. 7. Review of Literature on Church History for the Year 1877.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July 1, 1878. (London.)—1. Taine's Philosophy of Art. 2. Ethics of Evolution:—The Nature of Evil, and the Genesis of Conscience. 3. Bryan Waller Proctor. 4. The Russian and Turkish War. 5. Future Punishment. 6. Recent History of the Burials Question. 7. The Later Greek Nation. 8. The Congregational View of Religious Communion.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1878. (London.)—1. Modern Aspects of Christian Evidence. 2. Burma, Past and Present. 3. A New Way of Writing English History. 4. Sir Robert Aytoun. 5. The Annexation of the Transvaal Territory. 6. The Book of Job. 7. The Science of Health. 8. Foxe's Book of Martyrs.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1878. (New York.)—1. The House of Lords. 2. The Mythology and Religious Worship of the Ancient Japanese. 3. The Saracens in Italy. 4. The late Yakoob Beg of Kashgar. 5. George Eliot as a Novelist. 6. The Peasants of our Indian Empire. 7. Russia Abroad and at Home.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, July, 1878. (New York.)—1. Marquess Wellesley's Indian Administration. 2. The Remains of Edmund J. Armstrong. 3. Lecky's England in the Eighteenth Century. 4. Origin and Wanderings of the Gypsies. 5. Primitive Property and Modern Socialism. 6. M. Dondan's Letters. 7. Russia and Roumania. 8. The Gold Mines of Midian. 9. Finlay's History of the Servitude of Greece. 10. The Constitution and the Crown.

Comparative philology has been essaying to pour light on the history and origin of the gypsies. The following paragraph narrates spiritedly

THE FIRST NOTICEABLE APPEARANCE OF THE GYPSIES IN WESTERN EUROPE.

Late in the year 1417 the Hanseatic towns on the Baltic coasts and at the mouth of the Elbe were startled out of their commercial propriety by a novel and fantastic apparition. A horde of swarthy and sinister figures, in aspect and manners strangely unlike any samples of humanity which had till then come within the range of the worthy burghers' experience, suddenly appeared before the gates, first of Luneburg, then successively of Hamburg, Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, and Stralsund. They were, the chroniclers inform us, uncouth in form as well as hideous in complexion, and their whole exterior betokened the lowest depth of poverty and degradation. The wretchedness of their plight was rendered more conspicuous by the bizarre fragments of Oriental finery with which it was sought to modify or conceal it. An ample cloak, draped in classic fashion, and striped with gay colors, which, though half obliterated by time and travel, still recalled the fabrics of Tunis or Damascus, usually disguised the filth and

raggedness of their remaining apparel. Even when this relic of dignified costume was absent, a gaudy handkerchief or brilliant cockade never failed to denote the grotesque solicitude of these singular strangers for the adornment of their unprepossessing persons. The women and young children traveled in rude carts, drawn by asses or mules; the men trudged alongside, casting fierce and suspicious glances at those they met from underneath their lowering brows; the elder children, unkempt and half-clad, swarmed in every direction, calling with shrill cries the attention of the passers-by to their uncommon feats of jugglery and legerdemain.

At the head of this motley caravan rode two principal leaders, followed by a train of minor dignitaries. They were pompously mounted on gayly caparisoned horses, and all the insignia by which the baronial rank was at that period distinguished were parodied in their trapping and accouterments. It was observed, however, that the hounds which their attendants held in leash showed more eagerness to worry the peaceful inmates of the farm-yard than to chase the wild denizens of the forest; and their masters were quickly suspected of entertaining a livelier taste for domestic rapine than for field sports. These nondescript chieftains styled themselves "Dukes of Little Egypt," and called their followers *Secane*, a word quickly transformed by Teutonic pronunciation into its modern representative, *Zigeuner*. Among the lower orders, however, the new arrivals were long familiarly known by the appellation of "Tartars," which, in those days of rough-and-ready classification, was in Germany applied indiscriminately to all nomad tribes.—Page 60.

These were an exploring body of a few thousand in advance, and, as they were able to move with surprising celerity, they appear at a great variety of points in Europe during the ensuing decades.

As to the origin of these tribes popular theories only tell us what it was not. "One theory recognizes them as descendants of the wandering votaries of Isis; another identifies them with the 'mixed multitude' which followed Israel out of Egypt. According to one view, they fled from Bactria before the incursions of the White Huns and Afghans; according to another, they turned westward on the fall of Babylon; according to a third, they entered Egypt with the Mamelukes. These are, moreover, but specimens, and by no means the least favorable that could be produced, of the random notions which have prevailed even among thoughtful men on this point. We will not trespass upon our readers' time and patience by stopping to expose the fallacies on which these loose conjectures

severally rest. Not an iota of real evidence can be adduced in favor of any one of them, and historical research would become an empty phrase if such crude imaginings were to pass current as rational hypotheses."—Page 64.

LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE OF ORIGIN.

We can say with confidence that the people whose name, *Gypsy*, in several European languages, including our own, implies an *Egyptian* descent, have at no time entered into collective relations with the dwellers in the land of Pharaoh. Gypsies are indeed found in Egypt, as in almost every other part of the habitable globe, but under the same conditions as elsewhere. They are alien wanderers by the shores of the Nile, as they are along the banks of the Thames, and their dusky tents are equally foreign to the soil when they blot the yellow sands at the base of the Great Pyramid and when they are pitched on the greensward beside Melrose and Stonehenge. It is certain that if the gypsies had approached Europe by way of Egypt some Coptic admixture would have penetrated into their speech. This not being the case, we unhesitatingly conclude that their route must have lain in a different direction. On the other hand, from the fact that, of the thirteen European dialects of Romany, all without exception contain a well-marked Greek element, the inference is obvious that the entire body, previous to their dispersion through the rest of Europe, halted during some considerable time among a Greek-speaking population. On the same principle, when an analysis of the English gypsy tongue discloses the existence of Slav, Magyar, German, and French ingredients, side by side with the invariable Greek constituent, all flung pell-mell into the original Indian receptacle, we are justified in asserting that the gypsies of England must, at some stage of their wanderings, have lived in countries where these various languages were severally spoken. By similar reasoning we arrive at a corresponding conclusion in the case of each of the other European tribes. We can even go one step farther. The common stock of gypsy speech is found to contain a certain number of words unmistakably Persian and Armenian; and, guided by this unerring indication, we are enabled to follow these mysterious nomads backward along two stages of their long Asiatic pilgrimage. Thus, their language not only betrays their Indian origin, but reveals a sojourn on the table-lands of Irak and Anatolia, a prolonged halt in the Grecian peninsula, and records the subsequent intercourse of each separate horde with the different European nations.—Page 65.

The fundamental Romany idiom, when stripped of the miscellaneous foreign overgrowths which, in different countries, variously conceal its true form, is found, notwithstanding its present degraded condition, to belong by hereditary right to a highly aristocratic family of languages. The pedigree of this Plantagenet

in rags is decipherable in the complex grammatical structure and elaborate phonetic system inherited, at least collaterally, from the most ancient and illustrious of Aryan tongues. Romany stands in precisely the same relation to Sanskrit as the living languages of northern India, and is, in every respect, strictly co-ordinate with them. The analogy is, indeed, so close that it has been ranked as an eighth beside the seven representative forms of speech selected by Mr. J. C. Beames* as the most widely diffused and characteristic among the numerous Aryan dialects spoken south of the Himalayas. It is, then, certain, not only that they sprang from the same source, but that they were developed under the same conditions and in one common home, which can have been no other than the peninsula of Hindustan.—Page 66.

LINGUISTIC PERIOD OF THE GYPSY ORIGIN.

There is a portentous gap in our acquaintance with Indian tongues between the disappearance of the Prâkrits, or intermediate idioms, about the beginning of our era, and the emergence, with the poet Chand, in the twelfth century, of the modern analytical dialects. In the interval a radical change had taken place. Phonetic decay had worn down the Old-Indian case suffixes until they were no longer fit for service, and dialectic regeneration had stepped in to supply the deficiency by expedients of its own choosing. Now Romany agrees with the New-Indian languages, not only in the general principle of their inflection, but also in the particular means employed for the purpose; and it may, therefore, be looked upon as certain that its separation from the parent stock occurred subsequently to the formation of those languages. But we have already seen that the *data* are wanting which would have enabled us to fix this period definitively. Nevertheless, Dr. Miklosich, after careful consideration, believed himself able to indicate approximately the year 1000 A. D. as the probable epoch of the dispersion of the gypsies.—Page 67.

HISTORIC CONJECTURE OF GYPSY ORIGIN.

Philology identifies the Gypsies with the Lûrys or Jats, of whose origin the following account is given:—

In the great Persian Epic, the "Shahnameh," or "Book of Kings," Firdusi relates an historical tradition to the following effect. About the year 420 A.D., Behrâm-Gûr, a wise and beneficent ruler of the Sassanian dynasty, finding that his poorer subjects languished for lack of recreation, bethought himself of some means by which to divert their spirits amid the oppressive cares of a laborious life. For this purpose he sent an embassy to Shankal, King of Canoj and Maharajah of India, with whom he had entered into a strict bond of amity, requesting him to select from

* Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Sindhi, Panjabhi, Gujarati, and Orya. A Comparative Grammar of Indian Languages. London: 1872.

among his subjects, and transmit to the dominions of his Persian ally, such persons as could, by their arts, help to lighten the burden of existence, and lend a charm to the monotony of toil. The result was the importation of twelve thousand minstrels, male and female, to whom the king assigned certain lands, as well as an ample supply of corn and cattle, to the end that, living independently, they might provide his people with gratuitous amusement. But at the end of one year they were found to have neglected agricultural operations, to have wasted their seed-corn, and to be thus destitute of all means of subsistence. Then Behrâm-Gûr, being angry, commanded them to take their asses and instruments, and roam through the country, earning a livelihood by their songs. The poet concludes as follows: "The Lûry, agreeably to this mandate, now wander about the world in search of employment, associating with dogs and wolves, and thieving on the road by day and by night."

These words, written more than eight centuries and a half ago, accurately describe the condition of one of the nomad tribes of Persia at the present day. Their name, which has continued unchanged since the time of Firdusi, probably means "street-singers," and they must not be confounded with the settled inhabitants of Luristan, the principal haunt of the vagrant Lûry being Kurdistan. They have been commonly identified by travelers as members of the gypsy family, and Sir Henry Pottinger's description of those encountered by him in Beloochistan strongly countenances this view.

"The Loories," he writes, "are a class of vagabonds who have no fixed habitations, and in many other respects their character bears a marked affinity to the gypsies of Europe. They speak a dialect peculiar to themselves, have a king to each troop, and are notorious for kidnaping and pilfering. Their favorite pastimes are drinking, dancing, and music, the instruments of which they invariably carry along with the fraternity, which is likewise attended by half a dozen of bears and monkeys, that are broke in to perform all manner of grotesque tricks. In each company there are always two or three members who profess an insight into the abstruse sciences of Ruml and Qoorua, besides other modes of divining, which procure them a ready admission into every society, among a people who believe so firmly in predestination."—P. 68.

What drove the Jats westward?

It was from the Ghaznevide conqueror and at home that the independence of the Jats received its death-blow. The victorious army of Mahmoud, when returning laden with spoil from the Somnauth expedition of 1025, was attacked and pillaged by them on the banks of the Indus. Their temerity was chastised with exemplary rigor. Broken and dispersed by the resistless arms of the Sultan of Ghazni, they were not, however, annihilated, and the Jat tribe still forms the staple of the Sikh population in the Pun-

jab, as well as the majority of the cultivators and cattle-breeders of Sinde. . . .

We have seen that, from linguistic considerations alone, this event has been assigned to a period not far from the year 1000 A. D. In 1025 occurred, as already mentioned, the overwhelming disaster inflicted on the Jats by the retributive arms of the Ghaznevide Sultan. The inference can scarcely be resisted that the two circumstances were linked together as cause and effect, and that the wanderings of the gypsies in Europe are but the expiring reverberations of the great blow struck many centuries ago at their ancestors in the Punjab.—Pp. 69, 70.

Gypsy prospects:—

There can be no doubt that their contact with European peoples has been productive of innumerable evils to European society. Society vainly endeavored to defend itself by proscription and persecution. In England, in the reign of Elizabeth, it was "felony without benefit of clergy" to be seen for one month in the fellowship of the "outlandish people calling themselves Egyptians." In France, the States of Orleans decreed in 1561 that they should be proceeded against with fire and sword. In Spain they were banished by repeated edicts under the severest penalties. In Italy they were forbidden to remain more than two nights in the same place. In Germany they were shot down like wild beasts. They were persecuted in England as harborers of Jesuits; they were denounced in Germany as spies of the Turk; in Spain they were accused of driving with the Moors a nefarious traffic in Christian children; in Turkey they are still believed to be devourers of human flesh. Some of these imputations were absolutely false; some were grossly exaggerated. All were readily believed, and vigorously acted upon, but to no purpose. The race,

"More outcast and despised than Moor or Jew,"

throve and multiplied exceedingly, each generation inheriting from its predecessor a more irreconcilable aversion to settled life, and a deeper hatred of the communities which they infested and which spurned them.

In the last century, however, a change came over the spirit of several European Governments in their regard. Maria Theresa in 1768, and Charles III. of Spain in 1783, took measures for educating and training these poor wanderers in habits of Christian morality and continuous industry. The upshot was sufficiently satisfactory to encourage the imitation of their example, and the same experiment is now being tried in Russia with signal success; while the recent emancipation of the Wallachian gypsies has already been attended by the best results. Among ourselves their worst enemies in modern times have been railway companies, inclosure acts, and rural police. In the presence of these unrelenting agents of what a French author has called "our libertticide

civilization," the tents of the Romany people vanish, and the tongue of the Romany people becomes a half-remembered jargon. But these irrepressible strangers die out in one direction only to emerge with renewed vitality in another. Gypsy encampments have lately been seen for the first time during many generations in Ireland, and gypsy bands may now be found roaming through all the vast spaces of the Western States of America from the St. Lawrence to the Rio Grande. Thus they seem about to regain in the New World the ground which the pressure of increasing population has cut from under their feet in the Old, and will, no doubt, find in the Far West, during many centuries to come, that middle district between barbarism and culture which forms their appropriate element.—P. 75.

FRAZER'S MAGAZINE. London, August, 1878.

This number of Frazer's contains a characteristic article by our former contributor, Edward W. Blyden, entitled "Africa and the Africans: By a Negro." The Magazine holds a high place in modern English literature; the August is a number of marked excellence; but for piquant thought, ready scholarship, and graceful English style, this writer is quite the peer of his co-contributors in the number.

Mr. Blyden's article attempts to vindicate the African character before a Caucasian audience. He complains of the cruel unanimity of Caucasians in maligning the negro character, assigns what he considers the valid cause for African inferiority, and maintains that the African nature has ample capacity, with fair play from other races, for a noble and beneficent future. The malign ridicule, above specified, comes alike from liberalistic and evangelistic sources, now from the Westminster Review, and anon from our Methodist Quarterly. Our able contributor, Dr. Wentworth, who not long since furnished to our pages an article on Africa, meets the following rebuff:

DR. WENTWORTH AND THE AFRICAN.

In speaking of the love of music for which Africans are everywhere noted, Sir Samuel Baker says, with a touch of exaggeration:

The natives are passionately fond of music. I believe the safest way to travel in these wild countries would be to play the cornet without ceasing, which could insure a safe passage. A London organ-grinder would march through Central Africa followed by an admiring and enthusiastic crowd who, if his tunes were lively, would form a dancing escort of most untiring materials. . . . A man who, in full Highland dress, could at any time collect an audience by playing a lively air with the bagpipe, would be regarded with great veneration by the natives, and would be listened to when an archbishop by his side would be totally disregarded.

After quoting this passage, a grave American divine, in an elaborate article on Africa in an American Review, could see nothing from which to infer any noble qualities in the negro, and could not let the opportunity pass without indulging in the conventional giggle. Continuing Baker's joke, he still further degrades the impression, in order, apparently, to develop the smile into a "broad grin." He says: "An African's religion finds vent at his heels. Songs and dances form no inconsiderable part of the worship at a Southern colored camp-meeting. If we were constructing a ritual for the race we should certainly include this Shaker element."

"An African's religion" is inferred from what takes place at "a Southern colored camp-meeting." "A ritual for the whole race" must "include the Shaker element." We would assure the reverend doctor that such a "ritual" would be an egregious failure. The "Shaker element" prevails chiefly, if not entirely, among negroes, or "colored" people, who have been trained under the influence of the denomination of which Dr. Wentworth himself is a distinguished ornament. But only a comparatively small number of Africans are shouting Methodists. The greater portion of the race who are not pagans are either Mohammedans or Roman Catholics, and *their* "religion" does not "find vent at their heels."—Page 190.

Mr. Blyden's main base of defense of the African character is *the slave-trade.* Races in advance of the Africans have demoralized and ruined almost the entire tribes of the continent, and but for natural preventives would have depopulated it. As it is, they have rendered all life insecure, all permanent residence, culture, and civilization impracticable, and have spread depravation by wars, in which bribery has armed one chief and tribe against another, the kidnapping of the people being the object.

CHARACTER AND EFFECTS OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

We have no detailed account of the proceedings of the slave-hunters who captured the unfortunate creatures represented on Egyptian monuments; but we have pretty full accounts of the origin and character of the modern slave-trade, and we give here a summary from an able and well-informed source:

Within two centuries after the suppression of slavery in Europe, the Portuguese, in imitation of those piracies which existed in the uncivilized ages of the world, made their descents on Africa, and, committing depredations on the coast, first carried the wretched inhabitants into slavery. This practice, thus inconsiderable at its commencement, became general, and our ancestors, together with Spaniards, French, and most of the maritime powers of Europe, soon followed the piratical example; and thus did the Europeans revive a custom which their own ancestors had so lately exploded from a consciousness of its impiety. The unfortunate Africans fled from the coast, and sought, in the interior parts of the

country, a retreat from the persecution of their invaders; but the Europeans still pursued them, entered their rivers, sailed up into the heart of the country, surprised the Africans in their recesses, and carried them into slavery. The next step which the Europeans found it necessary to take was that of settling in the country, of securing themselves by fortified posts, of changing their system of force into that of pretended liberality, and by opening by every species of bribery and corruption a communication with the natives. Accordingly they erected their forts and factories, landed their merchandise, and endeavored by a peaceful deportment, by presents, and by every appearance of munificence, to allure the attachment and confidence of the Africans. Treaties of peace and commerce were concluded with the chiefs of the country, in which it was agreed that the kings on their part should from this period sentence prisoners of war and convicts to European servitude, and that the Europeans should supply them in return with the luxuries of Europe.*

Thus began that horrible traffic which for generations has distracted the African continent. The discovery of America stimulated the traffic and intensified its horrors.

Africans were deported to slaughter virgin forests, to test the capability of virgin soils, and to enrich both hemispheres with sugar, tobacco, cotton, and wines. And it is due to the terrors of its harborless coast, the malaria of its mangrove swamps, its burning deserts, its dangerous beasts and reptiles, its impenetrable jungles, its wary tribes prepared either for fight or flight, that Africa was not entirely depopulated to satisfy the greed of Christian nations for slaves during the last four centuries.

Though under the pressure of enlightened Christian sentiment the traffic has been abandoned by Christian nations, still the continent is made to bleed at almost every pore. Notwithstanding all that has been written and said on this subject, those who have seen any thing of the horrors of the traffic, which no pen can adequately describe, are solemnly impressed with the necessity of urging continually upon the public mind, with every possible emphasis and reiteration, the importance of its suppression. Livingstone says: "When endeavoring to give some account of the slave-trade of East Africa it was necessary to keep far within the truth, in order not to be thought guilty of exaggeration, (a thing Livingstone always abhorred;) but in sober seriousness the subject does not admit of exaggeration. To overdraw its evils is a simple impossibility. The sights I have seen, though common incidents of the traffic, are so nauseous that I always strive to drive them from my memory. In the case of most disagreeable recollections I can succeed, in time, in consigning them to oblivion; but the slaving scenes come back unbidden, and make me start up at dead of night, horrified by their vividness."

Sir Samuel Baker, in his "Albert Nyanza," describes an attack made upon a village for slaves, as follows: "Marching through the night, guided by their negro hosts, they bivouac within an hour's march of the unsuspecting village, doomed to an attack about half an hour before the break of day. Quietly surrounding the sleeping villages, they fire the grass huts in all directions, and pour volleys of musketry through the flaming thatch. Panic-

* Rees's New Cyclopedia, art. "Slavery."

stricken, the unfortunate victims rush from the burning dwellings, the men are shot down like pheasants in a *battue*, while the women and children are kidnapped and secured, the herds of cattle are driven away, and the human victims lashed together, forming a living chain, while a general plunder of the premises ensues."

In his "Ismailia" he says: "It is impossible to know the actual number of slaves taken from Central Africa annually. . . . The loss of life attendant upon the capture and subsequent treatment of the slaves is frightful. The results of this forced emigration, combined with the insecurity of life and property, is the withdrawal of the population from the infested districts. The natives have the option of submission to every insult, to the violation of their women and the pillage of their crops, or they must either desert their homes and seek independence in distant districts, or they must ally themselves with their oppressors to assist in the oppression of other tribes. Thus the seeds of anarchy are sown throughout Africa. The result is horrible confusion, distrust on all sides, treachery, devastation, and ruin.

"Graves and numerous skeletons (says Cameron) testified to the numbers whose lives had been sacrificed on this trying march, while slave clogs and forks still attached to some bleached bones, or lying by their side, gave only too convincing a proof that the demon of the slave-trade still exerted his influence in this part of Africa."

Schweinfurth, the German traveler, who traveled for some time in charge of the Nile slavers, and witnessed their diabolical proceedings, says that the "traders of Darfoor and Kordofan are as coarse, unprincipled, and villainous a set as imagination can conceive."—Pp. 182–184.

Defenders of our American slavery have usually maintained that our patriarchal institution has raised at least the imported slaves to a higher civilization. Mr. Blyden opines that it is the source of all the African degradation at home, and that the great body of immigrants coming from America thus far bring a degradation from their servile habits acquired in slavery very much unfitting them to be leaders in African civilization. It may be better when negro freemen, with manly character and culture acquired from freedom, voluntarily emigrate from America to Africa.

ELOQUENT STATEMENT OF THE SITUATION.

Africa has been spoiled by all the races alien to her, and, under their stimulating example, by her own sons. Other races have passed through the baptism of slavery, as a stepping-stone to civilization and independence, but none has toiled under the crushing weight of a servitude so protracted, and inflicted from so many sources. Millenniums mark the period of the bondage

and humiliation of Africa's children. The four quarters of the globe have heard their groans and been sprinkled and stained with their blood. All that passed by have felt at liberty to contemn and plunder. The oppressors of this race have been men with religion, and men without religion—Christians, Mohammedans, and Pagans. Nations with the Bible, and nations with the Koran, and nations without Bible or Koran—all have joined in afflicting this continent. And now the last of her oppressors, tearing from her bosom annually half a million of her children, are nations with the Koran. All travelers tell us that when the Arab traders in East Africa are suppressed the work will be done. This will no doubt be accomplished before very long. The Viceroy of Egypt is pledged to England to suppress the traffic, and in a given time to abolish slavery altogether.

It was a long time before the Christian world discovered, or rather admitted, the wrong in the slave-trade; and we are persuaded that just as the truth in Christianity produced, though tardily, a Wilberforce and a Clarkson, so the truth in Islam will raise up, is now raising up, Muslim philanthropists and reformers who will give to the negro the hand of a brother, and perhaps, outstripping their Christian brethren in liberality, accord him an equal share in political and social privileges—a liberality in dealing with weaker races which some Europeans confess themselves unable to exercise.—Pp. 195, 196.

German Reviews.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR KIRCHENGESCHICHTE. (Journal for Church History.) Edited by Dr. BRIEGER. Vol. I, No. 3. *Essays:* 1. SCHÜRER, Julius Africanus as Source of the pseudo-Justinian *Cohortatio ad Græcos.* 2. M. GASS, Vincentius of Beauvais and the *Speculum Morale.* 3. A. RITSCHL, The Origin of the Lutheran Church. 4. A. RITSCHL, George Witzel's Secession from Lutheranism. *Critical Reviews:* MÖLLER, The Literature of 1875, 1876, and 1877 on the History of Christian Doctrines. *Miscellaneous:* 1. ZAHN, Macarius of Magnesia. 2. KOLDE, Movements among the German Augustinians, and Luther's Journey to Rome. 3. KOLDE, Luther and the General of the Augustinian Order at Rome in 1518 and 1520.

Vol. II, No. 4. *Essays:* 1. DECHEND, Character and History of the Old Christian Sibyls. 2. GASS, Vincentius of Beauvais and the *Speculum Morale.* *Critical Reviews:* SEPP, History of Protestantism in the Netherlands. The Literature of the Years from 1875 to 1877. *Miscellaneous:* 1. A. HARNACK, Chronology of the Writings of Tertullian. 2. JACOBI, Rationalism in the Earlier Part of the Middle Ages. 3. MÜLLER, A Report on the Financial Transactions of the Roman Court in Germany, and the General Condition of the German Church. 4. WALTZ, Critique of the Luther Legend.

Dr. Dechend, evangelical pastor at Frankfort-on-the-Main, gives, in his article on the Character and History of the Sibylline Oracles of the old Christian Church, the results of special and long-continued studies. The Sibylline Oracles of the old

Christian Church, which in modern times have been edited by Friedlieb (1859) and by Alexandre, (1869, 2d edition,) must be well distinguished from the old pagan works of the same name, which, with the exception of a few fragments, are no longer extant, and from the Sibylline Oracles of the Middle Ages, which are much less important. Those of the old Christian Church were collected in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ, and contain partly Jewish, partly Christian prophecies. The oldest of them (Book III) belongs to the second century before Christ, while the youngest portions of the collection did not originate until the fourth century after Christ. The preface of the collector is still extant, but the time when he lived is uncertain. Certain, on the other hand, it is that the present comprehensive collection had been preceded by others of smaller compass. The author enters into a very full and elaborate investigation of every book of the collection, and takes occasion to acquaint us with the entire recent literature on the subject. As the final result of his investigations, he finds that nearly all the Sibylline Oracles of the Christian Church were controlled by heretical, or heterodox, or at least separatistic influences.

Dr. Th. Kolde, lecturer on theology at the University of Marburg, has for some time been engaged in the preparation of a work on John von Staupitz, the vicar-general of the congregation of Augustinian monks to which Luther belonged. He has, therefore, made extensive researches in the European libraries, and has found several manuscripts which in his opinion have not been made use of before. The interesting two little articles which he contributes to the above numbers of the "Journal for Church History" refer to the life of Dr. Martin Luther, and, as the author thinks, shed a new light upon some points of it. The former treats of the time from March, 1509, when Luther became *baccalaureus biblicus*, until October, 1512, when he was promoted to a doctor of theology. About this period in Luther's life we had hitherto less information than about any other period. It was only known that he had been for some time in Erfurt, and that shortly before his promotion he had made a journey to Rome in behalf of his order. That this journey was probably not made in 1510, as had formerly been assumed, but in 1511, had already been asserted by Dr.

Köstlin in his comprehensive and excellent biography of Luther, (1875,) and Dr. Kolde agrees with this assertion, but he then enters into a fuller discussion of the precise point of time and into the causes of the journey. Luther himself speaks only of his wish to make a general confession of his life, but his first biographer, Melanchthon, expressly refers to the controversies existing at that time between the German Augustinians as the principal cause of the journey. Dr. Kolde gives a very minute account of these controversies, with frequent reference to manuscripts as yet unpublished, and finds that Luther was sent in company with John of Malines to Rome by the vicar-general, Staupitz, in order to secure the carrying through of a change in the constitution of the German Augustinians, in behalf of which both Staupitz and his predecessor, Andreas Proles, had been very active.

The second article refers to some measures adopted by the vicar-general of the Augustinian eremites, Gabriel Venetus, for the purpose of silencing the voice of Luther. When the Augustinian general, Æquidius of Viterbo, a man not altogether unfriendly to the religious reformation, was made a cardinal, Pope Leo X. offered the position of vicar-general of the eremites (a branch of the order) to Gabriel Venetus, and when the latter at first declined the position, finally prevailed upon him to accept by pointing to the importance of the mission to appease "that man" Luther, Leo still being of opinion that at that time it would be easy to extinguish the recent flame, but that a further delay might have evil consequences. Dr. Kolde publishes from a Munich codex for the first time two letters of Gabriel Venetus, one to Gerard Hecker, the provincial of the Saxon province of German Augustinians, and the other to John Staupitz, which are very explicit in the expression of the opinion of the Roman vicar-general as to how Luther should be treated. Especially is this the case with the letter addressed to Hecker, who is ordered to "have the aforesaid brother Martin Luther seized and incarcerated, to keep him in custody with fettered hands and feet, and to send him thus to Rome." He is authorized to lay the interdict upon every town and to excommunicate every person that might oppose the carrying out of the above order, and to do every thing that might appear suitable to secure the incarceration,

and to do all this in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. In case of a refusal, Hecker is threatened himself with the loss of all his degrees, honors, and offices. The letter to Hecker is dated August 25, 1518; that to Staupitz, March 15, 1520. Staupitz is believed to have resigned soon after receiving this letter; he was unwilling to co-operate in any harsh measures against Luther, though he was too undecided to join the Reformation. Hecker, on the other hand, became subsequently a zealous reformer.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews. Edited by Dr. RIEHM and Dr. KOSTLIN. Third Number. 1878.) *Essays:* 1. SCHMIDT, On the Limits of a Life of Jesus. 2. GOERGENS, The Old Testament Ophir. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. KAWERAU, Luther and his Relations to Servetus. 2. DIEGEL, Comparison of the Present Evangelical Preaching with that Prevailing Fifty Years Ago. 3. ROSCH, The Three Pillar Apostles in the Secret Language of the Talmud.

Fourth Number. 1878. *Essays:* 1. GOEBEL, The Parable Mark iv, 26–29. 2. SPITTA, On the Personal Notices in the Second Epistle to Timothy. 3. SCHÜRER, The Meeting Place of the Great Synedrium. 4. TRÜMPELMANN, Socialism and Social Reform. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. SCHMID, Robert Mayer, his Scientific Discoveries and his Religious Views. 2. KEPPE, The Pietist Gisbertus Voetius at Utrecht. 3. SEIDEMANN, Letters from Amsdorf, Eck, and Luther.

It is quite unusual to meet in a periodical so grave and stately as the *Studien und Kritiken* has always been an article on a subject of so general and popular an interest as the article on Socialism and Social Reform, by A. Trümpelmann, Superintendent at Helleben, near Gotha. The appearance of the article in such a paper is itself another indication that all sections of the German Protestant Churches are awakening to the importance which the social-democratic agitations have already attained for the future of the German Empire in general, and of German Protestantism in particular. In no country of the world do the Socialists at present constitute so strong and compact a political party as in Germany. At the general election of a German Reichstag in 1877 the Socialists elected twelve of their candidates, and, though they were fully organized in only two thirds of the electoral districts, they polled about 500,000 votes out of a total of 5,500,000. At the elections recently held, at which the utmost efforts were made by all the Governments of Germany to reduce the socialistic votes, they exhibited a new increase in nearly all the large cities, although they did not elect the same number of candidates. Such a numerical strength is well calculated to alarm the State Government

and all who regard the realization of the socialistic dream of a radical change of our present society as a return to chaos. It is especially alarming for the German Protestant Churches, for nearly all the leaders of the Socialists of Germany agree in proclaiming their party to be a party of atheists, and the immense majority of the adherents of this party has been recruited from Protestant, not from Roman Catholic, districts. The claims of the Socialists have made a profound stir in German literature, and the number of works on the socialistic question amounts to many thousands. It will, of course, be expected that these works present an almost infinite variety of views. Among the theological writers there are some who are ready to accept the socialistic view concerning the right of property and the reconstruction of society, and to confine their opposition to the religious radicalism of the system. A court preacher of Berlin, Stöcker, has made an attempt to establish a Christian Socialistic party, which sets forth its views in the *Staats Socialist*, and which presented at the recent election its own candidates in several electoral districts; but the author of this article in the *Studien und Kritiken* undertakes to show that the fundamental views of the Socialists as to a reorganization of society are indissolubly connected with their politico-religious radicalism, and are fully as dangerous to the existence of a civilized State. The author then enters into a thorough discussion of the organization of labor, and the relation existing between labor and capital, and announces a second article which will discuss other fundamental questions of Socialism.

The biographical notice of Robert Mayer by his friend, the Rev. Rudolf Schmid, Dean of Schwäbish Hall, derives its chief interest from the information which it gives on the religious views of the great German physicist. The name of Robert Mayer, the discoverer of the mechanical theory of heat, is familiar to every student of physical science. The life of Mayer, like that of so many other discoverers and reformers, was one of great toil and hardship. When he for the first time announced his views to the literary world he was so cruelly misrepresented, maligned, and ridiculed that his health received a terrible shock, from which he never fully recovered. Though he remained all life long a practical physician in a small German town, he succeeded in having his view recognized by the

whole scientific world, which now worships but few names in its entire history so highly as that of Robert Mayer. That this great scientist was in his religious belief a humble and devout believer in the personal God and the Christian revelation, and that he was fond of professing his belief on every public occasion, is especially noteworthy at a time when such great efforts are made to diffuse the impression that every further progress of physical science denotes a further decline of Christian belief

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) May, 1878.—1. SUCHARD, A New Explanation of the Origin of Being. 2. E. DE PRESSENSE, An Individualist in Politics. 3. MASSEBIEN, A Quaker Missionary at Paris at the Time of Mazarin. 4. LICHTENBERGER, German Chronicles.

June, 1878.—1. STAPFER, The Actual Mission of French Protestantism. 2. F. PUAUX, St. Bartholomew. 3. GABORD, Origin and Development of Rousseau's Religious Ideas. 4. PFENDER, Bible Translations.

July, 1878.—1. HOLLARD, The Church. 2. FEER, Freret and the *Salon* of Baron Holbach. 3. NIEGAARD, The Roman Church and Religious Freedom.

August, 1878.—1. BOEGNER, Individualism in Public Worship. 2. BIANQUIS, The Poetry of Southern Europe. 3. ROEHRICH, A Sister of Jeanne d'Arc.

In the July number of the Methodist Quarterly Review we referred (p. 545) to a new movement in favor of Protestantism which is now taking place in France, and awakening in many quarters enthusiastic hopes. As will be seen from the above table of contents of the *Revue Chretienne*, the first article of the June number of this periodical is specially devoted to a full discussion of the subject. At the head of his article the author, E. Stapfer, enumerates the recent literature on the subject, which is quite extensive, and embraces, besides works from Bouchard, Renouvier, and Reveillard, who have already been referred to in our former reference to this subject, treatises from Laveleye, G. d'Alveilla, Albrespy, Paul Janet, and Mac All.

Paul Janet is one of the most distinguished French teachers of philosophy, and a prominent representative of that philosophical school which opposes the materialistic tendencies of our age, and, therefore, calls itself *spiritualiste*, to which word, as will be seen from this definition, a meaning is given quite different from the one most common in the United States. Janet published, on December 26, 1877, in a daily paper of

Paris, *Le Temps*, an article on "*Le Mouvement Philosophique*," in which he reviewed a number of recent works, among others one by a Protestant author, Albrespy, entitled, "How Nations Become Free," ("*Comment les Peuples Deviennent Libres.*") Albrespy undertakes to prove, by numerous examples and a great display of quotations, that a nation can establish its political and social liberties in a lasting manner only by embracing Protestantism. Janet is not of this opinion, and remarks: "What does this author want? Shall France become Protestant? Is this reasonable? Is it possible? Has not the opportunity passed three hundred years ago? Is there a man sufficiently credulous to believe that the fatherland of Bossuet and Voltaire can now become a disciple of Luther and Calvin? One may lament the turn affairs have taken in the past; I do not object, but what can be done? The question has now been solved." All the Protestant papers of France have replied to this article, and, more or less, they all indulge the hope that French Protestantism is on the eve of a new and more prosperous era. M. Stapfer admits that some years ago he himself entertained but a feeble hope for any considerable progress of Protestantism in France, and that it seemed more probable to him that the next religious reformation in France could only be one like that attempted by Father Hyacinthe. Since then, however, the prospects for an advance of Protestantism have become much more favorable. The efforts of Father Hyacinthe have not led to any practical results, and only three or four representatives of the Old Catholic movement now remain in France. The odious attacks which were made upon French Protestants as the co-religionists of the hated Prussians have ceased. The Republican Government, which maintains itself in France in spite of the most violent opposition of the Roman Church, is likely to give to Protestantism a greater freedom, and to smooth the way for its further progress by the introduction of universal and compulsory education. The obstacles which Protestants will have to overcome before they can obtain large accessions are, however, very great. "Protestantism," says the author of our article, "is little known in France, and for a long time Protestants have been looked upon as foreigners. They had preserved from the time of persecution the habit of keeping themselves in retirement, and the wish not

to be talked about. Now, as long as they will thus remain unknown and without influence, the people of France will have strong reason to remain Catholic by name. In the provinces, especially in the departments of the center, the inhabitants do really not know what a French Protestant is. We have met ourselves, in a provincial town, persons who believed that Protestants were always either English, or Germans, or Americans, but that there were no French Protestants. In such places it may, of course, be expected that none will separate from the Catholic ranks except those whom their conscience compels to leave; for the merchant who embraces Protestantism will at once lose at least one half of his customers; the magistrate loses his influence, the physician his patients. The physician may become a materialist; the clergy will cause him but little trouble; but he will not be allowed to become a heretic. Those who act thus know well that materialism and free thonght will not become dangerous for them, but that Protestantism is dangerous." The author then develops at length his views as to the best measures for promoting the new movement in behalf of Protestantism.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS STATISTICS OF ASIA.

Asia was once the cradle of Christianity and the seat of most of the Apostolic Churches; but never during the entire history of Christianity has the majority of the Asiatics belonged to the Christian Church. The flourishing Churches of Western Asia were sadly desolated and finally wrecked by the Turks, and only a few fragments, the largest of which is the Armenian Church, have preserved an unbroken existence until the present time. The total Christian population of Asia is only about 17,000,000, in a total population of about 814,000,000. It is, however, a remarkable fact that the rule of the great Christian powers of Europe over Asiatic territory is now extending very rapidly, that already more than one half of the entire area of Asia is under Christian government, that the number of Christians is now growing very rapidly, and that the end of the late Eastern war, which has again so largely added to the power of each of the two great Christian world-empires, Russia and England, greatly brightens the prospects of Christianity. In the following lines we shall attempt to give some of the principal facts relating to the present condition of the Christian Churches of Asia.

Comparatively the strongest Christianity is in the Asiatic dominions of Russia, which embrace no less than 6,500,000 square miles, while the total area of Asia is estimated at about 17,300,000 square miles. This immense territory will never be densely populated; still, the population in some parts of it is increasing rapidly. Throughout Asiatic Russia the growth of the Russian Church keeps, naturally, pace with the advance of the Russian rule, and even outruns it as the Christianization of the native tribes makes more rapid progress than their absorption by the Russian nationality. The steady progress of Russia has already made Christianity the ruling and the most populous religion throughout Northern Asia, and it may be expected that this proportion will rapidly extend into Central Asia. The total population of Asiatic Russia amounts to about 13,500,000. The Russian Church claims a population of about 5,300,000; for the sects which have separated from the Russian Church about 160,000 are set down, and the Gregorian Armenian Church numbers a population of 600,000. The Eastern Churches in general, therefore, control a population of about 6,060,000. The Church of Rome, including the United Armenian Church, numbers a population of about 51,000, and various Protestant Churches an aggregate of about 14,000. It may be said, therefore, that about one half of the population of Asiatic Russia is Christian.

Asiatic Turkey embraces most of the remnants of the ancient Christian Churches. The large majority of these belong to the Greek and Armenian communions. Besides these, there are Nestorians and Jacobites. Trustworthy statistical reports on the present condition of all these Churches are wanting. Small numbers of each of these four Eastern Churches have, in the course of time, connected themselves with the Church of Rome, retaining, however, their ancient rites and some other peculiarities. They are commonly known as the United Greeks, United Armenians, United Chaldeans, (Nestorians,) and United Syrians, (Jacobites.) At the head of each is a Patriarch. Besides them, the entire tribe of the Maronites, numbering about 140,000 persons, is united with the Church of Rome. E. J. Ravenstein, in a treatise on the population of Russia and Turkey in the "Journal of the Statistical Society," (Sept., 1877,) assumes the total population of Asiatic Turkey to be about 16,300,000, and estimates the Christian population at 2,800,000. The Christians he divides into Greeks, 1,480,000; Armenians, 740,000; Roman Catholics, 100,000; Protestants, 10,000; Maronites, etc., 487,000. This is not a good classification, as the Maronites are Roman Catholics. Generally the entire population connected with the Eastern Churches is estimated about 3,000,000; that connected with the Church of Rome, including the Maronites and those fragments of the Eastern communions which have acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, at about 260,000. They are about divided as follows: United Greeks, (Melchites,) 25,000; United Armenians, 75,000; United Chaldeans and United Syrians, 20,000; Maronites, 140,000. A portion of the United Arminians and the United Chaldeans stand at present, however, in opposition to the Pope.

The Asiatic territory under British rule amounts to about 1,600,000 square miles, which is about one quarter of the Russian territory, and one eleventh of the whole area of Asia. The population ruled by Great Britain, if we include the tributary States of India, exceeds 242,000,000, more than eighteen times as much as the Asiatic population of Russia, and more than one quarter of the entire population of Asia. Enumerations to ascertain the religious creeds of the inhabitants of India were taken in the various provinces and tributary States during the years 1868 to 1876. A verification of all these returns, with the results of the general census of India, furnished the following classification of the leading creeds in the provinces under British administration:—

Creeds.	*Numbers.*	*Creeds.*	*Numbers.*
Hindus	139,248,568	Christians	897,216
Mohammedans	40,882,537	Other creeds	5,102,823
Buddhists	2,832,851	Religion not known	1,977,400
Sikhs	1,174,436		
		Total	191,065,445

These figures refer to the provinces of India which are under direct British administration, and do not include the tributary States, which have an aggregate population of 50,325,457 persons. Some of these native States largely add to the Christian population of India. This is especially the case with Travancore and Cochin, both situated in the presidency of Madras. Travancore alone had, according to an official census taken in 1875, 470,000 Christians in a total population of 2,311,379, and Cochin, which has a total population of 601,114, is likewise largely Christian. Since the taking of the census very large accessions to the Protestant Churches have taken place in several provinces, and this movement is still going on. The present Christian population of British India, inclusive of the native States, cannot fall much short of 1,700,000, divided about as follows: Roman Church, 1,100,000; Protestant Churches, 300,000; Christians of St. Thomas and Jacobites, 300,000. Next to British India, the island of Ceylon is the most important British possession in Asia. It had in 1875 a population of 2,459,542 persons, among whom about 113,000 were Roman Catholics, and 42,000 Protestants. The other British possessions in Asia add no more than a few thousands to the number of either Catholics or Protestants. We estimate, therefore, the Christian population of British Asia about as follows: Roman Catholics, 1,320,000; Protestants, 350,000; Eastern Churches, 300,000. Total, 1,970,000.

Besides the Russians and English, also the French, Netherlanders, Spaniards, and Portuguese own large territories in Asia. Their aggregate amounts to about 1,000,000 square miles. The population of these territories was estimated in 1878, as follows:—

Spanish possessions			6,000,000
French	"	including the tributary State of Cambodja	2,[illegible]
Portuguese	"		[illegible]
Dutch	"		24,[illegible]
Total			34,[illegible]

The population in the Spanish possessions, which embrace the Philippine Islands, is nominally connected with the Church of Rome, so far as Spanish rule extends. France has a Catholic population in Cochin China of 43,000, in Cambodja of 10,000, and in its East India possessions of about 250,000. Portugal owns in Asia Goa, Macao, and a part of the island of Timor. In Goa and Macao Catholicism has been the ruling Church for about three centuries, while Timor has no Catholic Churches, and only pays tribute to Portugal. We estimate the nominally Catholic population in the Spanish possessions at 4,000,000; in the French possessions at 300,000, in the Portuguese possessions at 350,000. The Protestant population in all these territories is insignificant.

The Government of the Netherlands has long shown to all Christian missionaries a spirit not only of indifference, but of disgraceful hostility. It has designedly impeded instead of promoting the work of missions. This period has now passed away; the Christian missionaries are protected in the preaching of the Gospel, and laudable efforts are made for the establishment of schools and the diffusion of education. Protestantism has gained a firm footing on Java and Celebes, and begins to extend on the other islands. The total population connected with the Protestant Churches in the Dutch colonies is estimated at about 170,000, while the Church of Rome, which has a Vicar Apostolic in Batavia, claims a population of about 80,000.

It is one of the brightest pages in the missionary history of the Church of Rome that out of long and bloody persecutions she has been able to save in China a population of nearly 500,000. The Catholic population in China proper was estimated in 1878 at about 450,000, for whom there were 328 European and 203 native priests in 22 Vicarates Apostolic, (dioceses.) Of the Chinese dependencies Corea had about 20,000, Mongolia 5,000, Mantchooria 9,000, and Tibet 10,000 Catholics. In Japan, where the last vestiges of the Churches established in the sixteenth century were believed to have been rooted out, many descendants of former Catholics have been found to have secretly adhered to their Church, and they have recently begun to rally again openly around the altar of Rome. The missionaries claim 20,000 as being again in full communion with their Church, and they estimate the number of those in whom religious meetings and the practice of religious rites have maintained some kind of traditional connection with the missions of the sixteenth century, at more than 100,000. The comparatively largest number of converts the Church of Rome counts in the empire of Anam, where she had in 1878 a population of 483,000, or about 2.2 per cent. of the whole population. The kingdom of Burmah has about 5,000, that of Siam 25,000, and Persia 10,000 Catholics.

Protestant missions outside of the territories controlled by Christian governments are of comparatively recent origin. Hardly any of them antedate the nineteenth century. Now, however, numerous societies are vying with each other in occupying the immense field. In several places important triumphs have been obtained, and the prospect throughout is

encouraging. The population connected with the mission in China is about 25,000, in Japan 4,000, and Persia 3,000.

If we now try to tabulate the statistical information contained in the foregoing remarks, the present condition of the Christian Churches of Asia will be shown by the following table:—

	Eastern Church.	Roman Catholic Church.	Protestant Church.	Total Christians.
Russia	5,941,000	51,000	14,000	6,006,000
Turkey	3,000,000	260,000	10,000	3,270,000
Persia	50,000	10,000	3,000	63,000
China	5,000	500,000	25,000	53,000
Japan	2,000	20,000	4,000	26,000
Anam	....	483,000	....	483,000
Burmah (proper)	....	5,000	....	5,000
Siam	....	25,000	....	25,000
British possessions	300,000	1,320,000	350,000	1,970,000
French	....	300,000	....	300,000
Spanish	....	4,000,000	....	4,000,000
Portuguese	....	350,000	....	350,000
Dutch	....	80,000	170,000	250,000
Total	9,298,000	7,404,000	576,000	17,278,000

Art. IX.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Doctrine of the Apocalypse, and its Relations to the Doctrine of the Gospel and Epistles of John. By Pastor Hermann Gebhardt. Translated from the German by Rev. John Jefferson. 8vo., pp. 424. Edinburgh: H. J. Clark. 1878.

In 1826 De Wette uttered the oracular announcement that the fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse could not have been written by the same author. Assuming this dictum as axiomatic, the "higher criticism" of Germany divided into two parties, one maintaining the apostolic authorship of the Gospel, and the other of the Apocalypse. And at a much later date Professor Keim announces that John is "historically vanquished." This is very much in the style of Voltaire's "Crush the Wretch." But the crushed Christ still lives, and the vanquished evangelist still conquers, and both will live and conquer when these critical antichrists are dead and rotten.

The fourth Gospel was written by John. The three Epistles were written by John. The Apocalypse was written by that same John. St. John did reside and die in Asia Minor. He was banished to the isle of Patmos. He wrote his Apocalypse not in the reign of Nero, nor of Galba, nor of Vespasian, but of Domitian.

All these statements were historically asserted with wonderful unanimity by the earliest Christian antiquity, and they are well substantiated truths. The reverse statements are made by modern German criticism, and they are unequivocal lies.

Pastor Gebhardt's book is a clear showing of the marked and minute coincidences between the theology of the Apocalypse and John's other books. The resemblance is very complete, and is often of that occult character that discloses unintentionality and unconsciousness. In this peculiarity his arguments bear a striking resemblance to Paley's "Horæ Paulinæ." The same doctrines are often expressed, in both Gospel and Apocalypse, with a similarity of phrase, and often with a singular coincidence of thought in varied phrase. And thus this internal argument is twofold, based both on doctrine and on style. And that is carrying the war into Africa, for it is on differences of style between Apocalypse and Gospel that the former is denied to John. Even Alford acknowledges that the differences of style is a great difficulty not wholly removed. That difficulty is removable, we think, by two considerations. *First*, There are ample instances in literature of styles quite as diverse by the same author. In his young days Thomas Carlyle wrote, if we rightly recollect so far back, a life of Schiller and a life of Stirling, both in a chaste English, in perfect contrast to the grotesqueries of his "latter day pamphlets" and other spasmodic effusions. And these two cases are parallel, from the fact that it was in old age that both writers unfolded their "wild oats." Thomas Moore, in his "Life of Sheridan," gives opinion that Burke's style grew gorgeous with advancing age. The contrast between his early treatise on the "Sublime and Beautiful" and his thunderings against the French Revolution would seem to require two very different minds. *Second*, There are underlying identities of style which demonstrate identity of authorship. The subjects, of course, are stupendously different, and so require even of the same writer a stupendous difference of style. In the Apocalypse the pictorial imagination is perpetually on its utmost stretch; events and objects are crowding upon each other with intense rapidity. The scenery and pictorial material is generally borrowed from the Hebrew Scriptures, with immense improvements. And, more than all, the mind of the writer, steeped in Hebraism, is in a preternatural state. He who was in his youth a son of thunder has all the thunder of his youth supernaturally renewed within him. Rightly, the extraordinary conditions demand an extraordinary change of style, both of thought and language. And yet, underlying all this change, the natural style and mind unmistakedly

disclose themselves. He who cannot see this was never born a critic, and can never be reconstructed into one.

Pastor Gebhardt's treatise is an admirable contribution to the demonstration of this identity. His process was, first, to exclude the Gospel of John from his thought, and to study the Apocalypse from a most intense individualistic stand-point; then to study them both in connection and unfold the results. Of these two parts of the process his book consists. The first part, thereby, is a very searching analysis of the book; a sharp-eyed commentary on the Apocalypse. The second is a very powerful showing of a striking mental identity reigning through both books. For students who love to indulge in "apocalyptic hours" the first part will be very welcome; to those who feel the identity of authorship a perplexing question (as we do not) the second will bring a powerful solution.

Pastor Gebhardt is very wrong on three points. He is *semi-rationalistic;* he is *predestinarian;* and he is *pre-millennial.* On several minor points is he semi-rationalistic, but a very major point is his identifying "the beast" of chapter xiii with Nero, and so making St. John a false prophet. Of that beast it is said he was, and is not, and yet is. Now, it so happens that when Nero was assassinated, there was a current belief among his rabble of friends, that he really escaped from the assassin alive, and would yet return and recover his throne. This belief is held by our pastor as basis for John's making the beast to be slain, descend to the bottomless pit, and ascend therefrom. This Nero beast, as he interprets, is the sixth of the first eight Roman emperors; the seventh is his successor, Galba. And when we ask who was "the eighth" predicted by John as yet to come, we are answered, *Nero risen from the dead!* What a monster of an exegesis! And yet the pastor holds that the Apocalypse was written by the Apostle John! And this Apostle John prophesied that Nero, risen from the dead, would be the eighth emperor of Rome, when, in fact, the eighth was Otho. But this is not the worst of the matter. John makes, as Gebhardt interprets, the second advent, as described in Rev. xix, (which we do not believe to be a description of the second advent,) take place during the life of this beast, Nero. In fact, the Son of man descends from heaven at his advent for the very purpose of catching Nero alive and casting him into the lake of fire even before the general judgment of chapter xx. All that reduces the Apocalypse to an impostnre fit only to be flung into the waste basket. This accords with the run of German interpreters, (including Düsterdieck,) and essentially followed by Stuart.

The pastor is a forlorn predestinarian. In the retrospective view closing in John's Gospel the history of Jewish unbelief, (chap. xiii, 37–40,) the evangelist, quoting Isaiah's statement that God had blinded their eyes, adds, "therefore they could not believe." Thereupon thus expoundeth Pastor Gebhardt: "There can be no doubt that in the thought of the evangelist, as in that of the seer, there existed, side by side with each other, the human historical view, according to which God wills the salvation of all men, and offers it to them, but they, freely deciding, believe or become hardened; and the divine absolute view, according to which some men believe and attain salvation, because God wills it, and others do not believe and are lost, because God hardens them, and has not appointed them to salvation." The "human historical view," that man is free and responsible, is thus contradicted, abolished, and annihilated by a certain "divine absolute view," which affirms that God has beforehand excluded them from all adequate power to believe. Now the pastor forgets that both the prophet and the evangelist make that deprivation of power a consequent of antecedent unbelief *with* power to believe. It is that self-superinduced incapacity for faith which we well know as often taking place in human obduracy; which is at once responsible because freely self-superinduced, and yet judicial and divinely imposed both by naturally established sequences and a justly withdrawn divine influence. Pastor Gebhardt revives the weary contradiction that is the stigma of all Calvinistic theology, which so misstates the cause of God as puts him in the wrong and places right and justice on the side of the sinner. It recalls that vain jangle so well expressed by the popular antinomies:—

> "You can and you can't, you shall and you shan't,
> You will and you wont,
> You'll be damned if you do, and you'll be damned if you don't."

Pastor Gebhardt, thirdly and lastly, is a *pre-millennialist*. Like most of his co-thinkers, he bases his view upon making "souls" mean bodies in Rev. xx, 4. He admits the souls under the altar of chapter iv to be "souls," but those same "souls" on the throne in chapter xx are, forsooth, live bodies. Like the rest of the millennarians he believes that this view is clinched by verse 5, "But the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were finished." On that verse we remark: 1. The verse is of doubtful authenticity, being not found in the best authorities. 2. The word "again" is certainly spurious. 3. The Greek word for "until" does not imply that they will "live" after the close of the thou-

sand years. All that we get from the verse, then, is the declaration that, so far as that period is concerned, "the rest" did not live the imparadised life of these souls. What kind of a *life* that is is indicated by the terms "river of life," "tree of life;" namely, a celestial life overlying mere conscious vitality.

The Theological Trilemma; or, The Threefold Question of Endless Misery, Universal Salvation, or Conditional Immortality. By Rev. J. H. PETTINGELL, M.A.

This book is very respectably written, in a good style and spirit, with clearness and candor. The author professes to be strictly evangelical, and he does hold and teach most of the commonly received evangelical doctrines. He rejects the doctrines that all men are to be converted, either in this world or the next, and finally saved; also, that the wicked are to be punished forever. The soul is not naturally immortal. Immortality is the gift of God, and it is given to those only of our fallen race who repent of their sins and are regenerated. Those who die in their sins are literally destroyed. They go out of existence. The devil and his angels are also destroyed; and with the end of these there is, so far as we know, the end of sin and misery in the universe. Naught remains but God, and the holy angels and his loyal and ransomed ones, to enjoy and praise him in heavenly places forever.

Mr. Pettingell urges a variety of considerations in proof of what we call, though he does not, the annihilation of the wicked. He alleges, first of all, that *death* literally signifies annihilation; that so our first parents must have understood the original threatening; and that whenever the word death is used in Scripture to set forth the final doom of the wicked, it can mean nothing else. But is it true that death literally and properly signifies annihilation? Annihilation of what? Not the body, for the dead body still remains. It may be seen and handled as before. The truth is that death, in its primary and literal signification, annihilates no material thing. It changes the form of living substances; in its issues it dissolves them, and turns them back to their original ingredients; but death, we repeat, annihilates nothing. And if death does not annihilate material substances, much less can it put an end to human souls. It certainly does not end the souls of the righteous; and in Scripture we often hear of the souls of the wicked as living and suffering after death. The rich man in the Gospel died and was buried, and "in hell he lifted up his eyes, being in torments." Luke xvi, 23. And of that

wicked generation to whom Noah preached we hear, thousands of years after their destruction in the deluge, they were still alive—"spirits in prison"—where they remain, undoubtedly, to the present time. 1 Peter iii, 19.

But we are told that as eternal life imports an immortal existence, eternal death, which is its opposite, must import annihilation. But eternal life does not import simply an eternal existence, but an eternally *blessed* existence. "This," says our Saviour, "is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent." John xvii, 3. Eternal life, then, is not a mere eternal existence, but an eternally happy existence with God and Christ in heaven. What, then, must its opposite, eternal death, be, but a state of eternal sinning and suffering in hell?

But there are other words besides death on which great stress is laid in this argument for annihilation. The wicked are said in the Scriptures to be consumed, destroyed, burned up, lost, a phraseology which imports that they pass utterly out of existence. "The Lord preserveth all them that love him: but all the wicked will he destroy." Psa. cxlv, 20. "Fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." Matt. x, 28. "Who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power." 2 Thess. i, 9. We may take the two strongest passages, probably, which the Bible contains, and see if they necessarily import annihilation: "Behold, the day cometh, that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all that do wickedly, shall be stubble: and the day that cometh shall burn them up, . . . that it shall leave them neither root nor branch." "He will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire." Suppose a thing to be burned up, so as to leave neither root nor branch; is it thereby annihilated? By no means. To burn up and consume is only to change the form of things, not to annihilate them. Not a particle is lost. Water may be evaporated; wood and gas may be burned; but the substance of both still exists. And so through the entire range of material substances known to man. Through every form of disorganization the particles composing the substance will remain, and, for aught we know, may remain forever.

We are referred to certain passages in the Old Testament which are thought to teach annihilation: such as Psa. vi, 5; Eccl. ix, 10; Psa. cxlvi, 3, 4; and Jer. li, 57.

These passages, if they prove any thing, prove too much for the

class of men with whom we now reason. They prove that the cessation of active, conscious existence takes place in death, and pervades the entire region of the grave. For instance: "In death there is no remembrance of thee: in the grave who shall give thee thanks?" "There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest." But the probability is that these and the like passages have a merely relative meaning. Some of them refer to the state of the lifeless body which lies unconscious in the grave. Others go to show that not even the spirits of the dead have any longer an active interest and concern, such as they once had, in the affairs of this life. "His breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth; in that very day his thoughts perish." As much as to say that, in the moment of death, the designs, the plans, of man for this world are all cut off. The rich fool in the Gospel was planning to pull down his barns and build greater, and to enjoy life for many years. But death came unexpectedly, and "in that very day his thoughts perished."

The arguments from nature as to the soul's immortality are all of them confirmed by the clearer light of revelation. In the Old Testament we have enough to convince us that, while the body and the brute are mortal, the human spirit is immortal. "Who knoweth the spirit of man that goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth." Eccles. iii, 21. "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." Eccles. xii, 7. "Them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt." Dan. xii, 2. But it is in the Gospel, emphatically, that "life and immortality are brought to light;" immortality, not for a particular class of men, but for all. Whether righteous or wicked, all have entered upon an existence which is never to end. Now, it is objection enough to the theory of annihilation, that it contradicts, confessedly and palpably, this great doctrine of immortality. For those who die in their sins there is, we are told, no immortality. They are to be annihilated.

According to the doctrine which has been considered, annihilation is the penalty of God's law. This was the penalty threatened to our first parents, and the penalty which will ultimately be inflicted upon those who obey not the Gospel. "The wages of sin is death." "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." "Sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death"—understanding, in all these passages, annihilation.

Now, in opposition to all such statements, we insist that annihilation is not, and cannot be, the penalty of God's law. We know what this penalty is, for it has once been executed. It was executed upon the angels that sinned. For them there was no reprieve—no probation of grace. The penalty of the law fell upon them in the moment of their transgression, and has been upon them ever since. And what was it? They were not annihilated, but "cast down to hell," (2 Peter ii, 4,) where they are "reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day." Jude 6. This penalty will be inflicted on all the wicked at the close of the judgment. And what is it? "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels." "And these shall go away into everlasting punishment." Matt. xxv, 41, 46.

We know it is said that annihilation is everlasting punishment because it is everlasting in its consequences. But as well might it be said that hanging or flogging was everlasting punishment, because these are everlasting in their consequences. Indeed, with more propriety may it be said of the ordinary modes of human punishment that they are everlasting; for they are followed by a train of consequences that will have no end: whereas, to the subject of it annihilation cuts off all consequences. A perpetual nonentity is beyond the reach of all consequences forever, and this shows that annihilation, so far from being the penalty of the law, is, in no proper sense of the term, a punishment; on the contrary, it cuts off all punishment. Punishment necessarily implies the existence of a subject to bear it. It is a just punishment, it implies the existence of a guilty subject. But on the theory before us, the subject of punishment is no longer in existence. He is a nonentity—nothing; and how is it possible to punish nothing?

And, lastly, what are we to think of the following passages from the Revelation? "If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb: and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name." Rev. xiv, 9–11. Again, the writer of this book, speaking of the great numbers who will go forth near

the end of this world for the destruction of God's people, says: "And fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them; and the devil that deceived them was cast into the lake of fire and brimstone, where the beast and the false prophet are, and shall be tormented day and night for ever and ever." Rev. xx, 10. P.

Outlines of Biblical Psychology. By J. T. BECK, D.D., Prof. Ord. Theol., Tübingen. Translated from the Third Enlarged and Corrected German Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Special Edition imported by Scribner & Co. 1877. Price, $2.

This volume consists of extracts from lectures delivered in 1841 before both professional and lay hearers, and meeting high approval. If his lectures were as concise as his chapters, and abounded with as copious references to Scripture passages without quoting them in full, the professor must have been blessed with marvelously appreciative audiences. The work, from its extreme condensation, needs to be *studied* as well as *read* by American thinkers, and will amply repay the time and labor of a full mastery of its principles.

The professor finds or assumes, in accordance with Roos, Spener, and Delitzsch, that from Genesis to Apocalypse the Bible has a single and uniform system of psychology. He maintains that a misunderstanding or rejection of that psychology falsifies our theology and weakens our apologetics. His own theological system is framed in accordance with it, and he believes that its restoration would renew the power of Christian doctrine. We believe this to be so far true that the assertion, now too common, that Paul's recognition of *body, soul,* and *spirit,* in 1 Thess. v, 23, is merely a use of the then prevalent psychology, is at once superficial, false, and injurious. The threefold distinction is not confined to a single text, or a few texts, or to New Testament texts, but reigns in the whole Bible, as it does in truth and nature. The theologian loses by its rejection his clearest distinction between man and brute, and his best ground for the immortality of solely the former.

In successive chapters on "soul as breath," and "soul as blood," sustained by volumes of Scripture reference, Dr. Beck maintains that it is not the body that *breathes,* but the *soul;* the soul quickened by the spirit. Hence, when soul has departed, the outward air poured in upon the lungs does not revive the body. The soul acts, performing the true movement in inhalation; nay, the soul is a spontaneous breath, inhaling and inhaled. Breath and chyle, brought together in the blood, circulate and animate the whole

system. Yet the *soul* must itself be vivified by the *spirit*, as the body is vivified by the *soul*.

The *heart* in Scripture is not, as in modern phrase, a synonym for the affections or emotions. It is the residence of the operating soul, the workshop of all its operations. "*The heart is the first thing to live.* It exists and acts sooner than the organism, and even furnishes materials for the formation of it. So, too, it *survives the organism*, being the last organ that fulfills its office. Haller calls it '*primum vivens, ultimum moriens.*' This points to the meaning which Scripture gives to the heart—namely, center of life. Its first motion is the sure sign of life, its stillness the sure sign of death."—P. 78. See our note on Romans ix, 10, 11.

The psychological importance of the heart-center is thus expounded:—

Accordingly, by means of the soul the spiritual significance of the heart coincides with the bodily. It is the central seat of the life-blood, the central organ of the body, with a motive force of its own to set agoing the whole circulation of the blood, a propelling force to draw out the vital materials and energies and keep them moving in all directions, and an attractive force to absorb and concentrate the vital streams. It is, therefore, the *center of all active life* in its constant ebb and flow; and it is, consequently, the *workshop of all independent activity and vitality.* Centrality, a spontaneous *concentrated power* to elaborate given materials, a *force* to move and keep in motion the whole *machinery*—these are the three *general* characteristics of the life of the heart. As the soul with all its special *features* is wrought organically into the texture of the blood, so the central chamber of the life-blood, the heart, with all the features we have described, forms *the organic basis of the soul's life as a whole.*—P. 81.

As to the head, we are told that the soul "reaches the utmost height of its influence on the *outward life* in the head and countenance (Deut. xxxiii, 16, 'Let the blessing come upon the head of Joseph;' Prov. iv, 9; x, 6; Eccles. ii, 14; viii, 1; Isa. xxxv, 10;) and especially in the *brain*, in which the organs of sense, forming the means of the soul's intercourse with the outer world, have their center and their apex.* It is here that *such of the soul's perceptive and formative energies as have an outward reference* have their seat and display their functions, as distinguished from those which have an inward, which tend to go ever more and more deeply into the soul, and have their source in its inmost depths. Hence the common distinction between head and heart —that is, between a perception and formative power which has an outward height in the soul, but no access to its depths, and a perception and formative power which has a hold on the depths and secret parts of life. This explains why much comes into the

* Scripture does not directly tell us the importance of the head in relation to spirit and soul; but assumes this in its metaphors, especially when it connects seeing and hearing with functions of the spirit.

outward consciousness that does not come into the inward, and *vice versa*."—P. 26.

Our author holds that men may be divided morally into the regenerate, the righteous, and the wicked; and that for those who have not committed the unpardonable sin there is possible restoration in the intermediate state.

Take a Greek Concordance of the New Testament, and run your eye carefully over the words *πνεῦμα* and *ψυχή*, and it becomes very plain that they are words of very different import. God is always a *spirit*, never a *soul;* angels are not *souls*, but *spirits;* the disembodied *spirits* of men are never called souls, except as in the Apocalypse, where a reference is retained to the blood of the martyrs. Take the adjective *ψυχικός*, *psychical*, *soulical*, usually but unhappily rendered *natural* in our version, and the case is still more striking. It is the usual antithesis of *spiritual*. So Jude describes the apostates as "psychical, not having pneuma; *pneuma*, without the article, meaning not the Holy Spirit, but *a spiritual nature*. And Heb. iv, 12 speaks of "dividing asunder soul and spirit." See our note 1 Cor. xv, 44.

Concessions of "Liberalists" to Orthodoxy. By DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D., 16mo., pp. 343. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co. 1878.

Some twenty years since, the American Unitarian Association issued a volume entitled, "Concessions of Trinitarians;" and now, but in no captious, controversial, or retaliative spirit, Dr. Dorchester has gathered from the writings of eminent Liberalists, Unitarian and Universalist, including a few of the extreme school, some remarkable concessions to three of the great doctrines of Evangelical Theology, namely, the Deity of Christ, the Atonement, and Endless Punishment. The field has not before been so well explored, and not a few readers will be surprised at its richness. To have merely exposed the inconsistencies of the writers quoted would have been worth something in the controversy so vigorously waged for the last generation, but Dr. Dorchester has a higher purpose. His fundamental proposition, a concession, indeed, from "The Christian Examiner," is that every great and wide-spread belief, clung to and lived in through a long series of years, and held not only in the minds of scholars but by the great common heart, must be substantially true and needed by the world, however defectively or erroneously it may be stated. And the purpose is to show that, notwithstanding their dogmatic opinions on the questions in hand, these writers, in their better

moods, not casually, but in deliberate discussion, do clearly, repeatedly, and in broad terms, make declarations substantially conceding the truths in these doctrines. Mightier than their logic is the cry of their hearts for a Saviour who is God, and a Redeemer who can cleanse. They do thus really place these doctrines among the universal truths of the race.

The book is prepared with the greatest candor, care being taken to state the opposing views of the several authors quoted in connection with their concessions, thus rigidly doing them full and even justice. It is to be also remarked that these concessions are in all cases selected from writers who, from position or otherwise, stand before the public as the representatives of liberalism.

In the debate on Endless Punishment, the twelve propositions set forth in relation to the philosophical hypothesis of universal restoration cannot fail to be of service. They are logical, clear, and exhaustive, and the concessions under them by such names as Miner, Eliot, Winchester, Dewey, Noyes, Kimball, Bartol, and Hedge, leave little to be said.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Opening of the Lewis Brooks' Museum at the University of Virginia, June 27, 1878. Address on Man's Age in the World. By JAMES C. SOUTHALL, A.M., LL.D., with Introductory Remarks of Hon. A. H. H. STUART, Rector. 12mo., pp. 60. Printed by order of the Board of Visitors, 1878. Richmond, Va.: Clemmit & Jones.

The venerable University of Virginia found a right noble benefactor in Lewis Brooks, a gentleman of Rochester, N. Y. Being an ardent admirer of Jefferson, that gentleman, followed by his heirs, gave nearly a hundred thousand dollars to found a museum for Jefferson's University. In making his donation he concealed his personality from all but Rector Stuart, and after its completion the same telegram announced his death and name to the Virginia public. In the opening commemoration it was held that a memento of mind was more permanent than a monumental marble to their benefactor, and Mr. Southall was called upon to furnish it in the present "Address."

The production was worthy of the occasion. Mr. Southall has furnished about the best brief popular presentation of the subject of Man's Antiquity we have ever read. In view of the disposition of a badly-committed class of overhasty scientists to slight or ignore Mr. Southall's persistent and disturbing exposures, we are

glad Virginia appreciates her distinguished son, and protrudes him so clearly into notice as to demonstrate that he is ignored simply because he cannot be answered. The Address walks over the usual range of topics in a free and graceful style just suited to any one who desires to be posted up with a summary at once readable and reliable.

Though professedly treating Darwinism only incidentally, he presses some arguments against that theory with remarkable force. He makes the geological gaps that separate man from brute, and which cut off genetic connection of various genera from the rest of the paleontological system, yawn with fatal effect. Man is separated by a broad geological gulf from all other animals. It is now admitted that man cannot be descended from the monkey, but claimed that man and monkey are branches from one primitive stem. And yet a gulf not only divides man from all other species, but also divides the monkey from all other species. Monkey as well as man is in isolation. The oldest geological man as yet discovered is without one distinctive monkey trait or degraded quality, as complete a man in body or brain as we often now meet marching along the city pavement. And it is not a mere "missing link" that is wanting, but *a whole chain of links*, to connect man with the branching point where he and monkey divide. And to this chain must also be added the chain connecting the isolated monkey therewith.

The geological breaks in succession of paleontological forms, and that, too, where the strata show no break or disturbance of position, are thus treated.

As regards the monkey:—

> As there is a great gap between the beasts of the field and man, so there is an unbridged gulf between the reptilian forms and the birds of the Secondary Age and the mammals of the Tertiary. Carnivorous and herbivorous mammals, in great numbers, and of many species—and, strangest of all, the monkeys—appear upon the scene at the base of the Tertiary with the most startling abruptness—unheralded, and with no evolutionary trumpet to sound their approach.—P. 21.

As regards fishes:—

> In passing from the Lower to the Upper Silurian and Devonian, the seas suddenly swarm with gigantic and highly-organized fishes. In a moment—in the twinkling of an eye—with no suspicion of a break in the record—we pass at one leap from the mollusks and crustaceans of the Lower Silurians to the sharks and gar-fishes of the Upper Silurian and Devonian. Some of these fishes were from twenty to thirty feet in length, and belonged to a very advanced type of fishes, being allied to the reptilian forms. "It is impossible," says Le Conte, "to overlook the *comparative* suddenness of the appearance of a new class—fishes—and a new department—vertebrates—of the animal kingdom." "Observe," he continues, "that at the horizon of appearance in the Upper Silurian there is no apparent break in the strata, and therefore no evidence of lost record; and yet the ad-

vance is immense. It is impossible to account for this unless we admit paroxysms of evolution, etc."—Pp. 22–23.

As regards trilobites:—

But there is yet another startling apparition in the succession of paleontological forms: if we go back to the Lower Silurian, resting on the Archæan or Eozoic rocks, we find the highly-organized trilobites and cephalopods—heading, as it were, the long succession of animal life. In the Archæan rocks we find only the lowest Protozoan life—the questionable, systemless *Eozoon Canadense;* and with the very dawn of the next era we find "all the great types of structure except the vertebrate." "And these," adds Le Conte, who believes in evolution, "not the lowest of their type, as might have been expected, but already trilobites among the articulata and cephalopods among mollusca—*animals which can hardly be regarded as lower than midway in the animal scale.*—P. 23.

As regards "Paroxysmal Evolution," or Mivartism:—

As the facts now stand, it seems to me impossible to reconcile them with evolution as taught by the disciples of Mr. Darwin in Europe. To evade the difficulty our American evolutionists (in which they were preceded by Mr. St. George Mivart) have invented the theory of *Paroxysmal Evolution*—Evolution by leaps. There was a leap from the plant-like Protozoan to the huge crustaceans with their great many-leused eyes, and to those monster straight-shelled nautili or cuttle-fishes (some of them fifteen feet long) which were the scavengers of the Silurian seas. There was a sudden leap from these crustaceans and mollusks, with no intervening forms, to the monster sharks and gar-fishes of the Devonian. There was a sudden leap from the fish to the amphibian. There was a sudden leap from the great saurians of the Secondary Age to the abounding mammalian life of the Tertiary strata; and finally, by a similar evolutionary paroxysm, some ape-like organism, about the close of the Glacial Epoch—quick as the readjusted crystals of the kaleidoscope—assumed abruptly the human form.—Pp. 23–24.

The old maxim that "nature does nothing by leaps, *per saltum*," is thus paleontologically falsified. Creative or productive nature is a very nimble jumper.

As regards the brachiopods:—

Beginning in the Lower Silurian the sub-class of bivalve shells known as brachiopods (lampshells) has continued to the present day. Of all the genera of animals now having living species only four or five, such as *Lingula* and *Discina*, commenced their existence in the Lower Silurian. These have survived through all the geologic ages, and, with the exception of Dr. Dawson's *Eozoon Canadense*, are among the earliest forms of life now known. They belong to the venerable and persistent tribe of Brachiopods. It occurred to Mr Darwin that the history of these brachiopods might throw some light on the theory of Evolution. Mr. Davidson, of Brighton, the friend of Mr. Darwin, has made the brachiopods the subject of his life-study. Mr. Darwin accordingly addressed a letter requesting Mr. Davidson to make observations with regard to the brachiopods. The judgment was adverse to the theory. I make the following extract:—

"Darwin's tempting and beautiful theory of descent with modification bears a charm that appears to be almost irresistible, and I would be the last person to assert that it may not represent the actual mode of specific development. It is a far more exalted conception than the idea of constant independent creations; but we are stopped by a number of questions that seem to plunge the conception in a maze of inexplicable, nay, mysterious difficulties; nor has Darwin, as far as I am aware, said how he supposes the first primordial form to have been introduced. The theory is, at best, as far as we can at present perceive, with our imperfect state of knowledge, but half the truth, being well enough in many cases as between species and species; for it is evident that many so-termed species may be

nothing more than modifications produced by descent. It applies, likewise, to accidental variations as between closely allied genera, yet there is much more than this with respect to which the theory seems insufficient. The strange geological persistency of certain types, such as *Lingula*, *Discina*, *Nautilus*, etc., seems also to bar the at present thorough acceptance of such a theory of general descent with modification.—Pp. 55–56.

As regards botany:—

If Mr. Darwin is thus driven away from the animal kingdom by Mr. Davidson, a no less eminent specialist in the department of Botany gives a yet more emphatic verdict against him in that province of life: I refer to Dr. Carruthers, keeper of the Botanical Department of the British Museum. In an address before the Geologists' Association, of which he was then president, at the session of 1876–1877, he says:—

"No doubt there is in the older Palæozoic rocks a great absence of any records of land life. The conditions that permitted the preservation of the fucoids in the Llandovery rocks at Malvern, and of similar cellular organisms elsewhere, were, at least, fitted to preserve some record of the necessarily rich floras, if they had existed, which, through immense ages, led by minute steps to the conifer and monocotyledon of these Palæozoic rocks. The complete absence of such forms, and the sudden and contemporaneous appearance of highly organized and widely separated groups, deprive the hypothesis of genetic evolution of any countenance from the plant record of these ancient rocks. The whole evidence is against evolution, and there is none in favor of it."—P. 57.

The significance of these isolations of system from system is thus forcibly stated:—

If intermediate forms between the trilobite and the fish, or the ape and man, once existed, what has become of them? The missing links, if such there were, must have been considerable in number, and the individuals representing each link in the chain must have existed by tens of thousands and millions. The transitional forms must have been *a hundred times more numerous than the completed type*, and yet we find perfect trilobites and perfect fishes, perfect apes and perfect men, and no trilobites in transitu to fishes, and no apes in transitu to men—although *we ought to meet them at a hundred points*. Where are the intermediate forms between birds and mammals? We ought to find hundreds of these intermediate forms, with imperfectly developed organs; if they existed, there is no reason why we should always miss just these transitional forms, and no others. If we had missed them in one country, we ought to find them in another. The same gaps essentially are reproduced in Europe, Asia, North America, South America, Africa, and Australia. The alleged pedigree of the horse, and such forms as the archæopteryx, and the many similar discoveries which will be made, do not seriously touch this difficulty. The great chasms to which I have referred still remain, and will not be appreciably diminished by these discoveries. If it should be asserted that the silver dollar had been gradually developed by some natural process out of the copper cent, and we should be able to discover only one-cent pieces, two-cent pieces, three-cent pieces, five-cent pieces, ten-cent pieces, quarters, half-dollars, and dollars; and if, moreover, exactly the same pieces, and no others, were found in all parts of the world, the theory would have to be abandoned; because it would be incredible, if the four-cent pieces, the six-cent pieces, the seven-cent pieces, the eight-cent pieces—the thirty-cent pieces, the forty-cent pieces, the seventy-cent pieces, etc.—once existed as transitional links, that we should always miss just these particular pieces, and always find just the others in all parts of the world. Unless we could assign some good reason for the disappearance of all the missing pieces, we should be compelled to conclude that they never existed. In that case, if we still held to the doctrine of evolution, we should have to adopt the paroxysmal evolution of Mivart and Clarence King, and assert that the quarter was developed out of the ten-cent piece by a paroxysmal act, and the dollar out of the half dollar by a yet more violent process.—Pp. 24–25.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Story of the Life of Pius IX. By T. Adolphus Trollope. 2 vols., 8vo. London. 1877.

The history of Pope Pio Nono has been often told. He was the last pontiff who really united in himself ecclesiastical and civil functions; and as his lot fell in "times that try men's souls," his conduct both as a politician and a churchman has been the subject of frequent treatment. Mr. Trollope writes as unbiased as a Protestant may be presumed to write of the head of a system which enslaves in abject superstition a great mass of the western world. But he seems careless as to the facts, and aims at pleasure for the reader at the expense of a higher standard. Those who are not anxious to obtain information in the highest form, and desire nothing more than a bird's eye view of the subject, will prefer this narrator, in which, though it contains no new matter, and is written in a style frequently disfigured by a straining after the melodramatic, the old materials supplied by Italian and French authors, are furnished with considerable skill and set off to full advantage.

Trollope's chapter on "The Pope as a private person" is the dullest in the work. It might have been the best—for there was a humorous side to this Pope's character, and he is credited with many a *bon mot*. Of a Romish diplomatist, whose conduct and professions were at variance, he said: "I do not like these accommodating consciences. If that man's master should order him to put me in jail, he would come on his knees to tell me I must go, and his wife would work me a pair of slippers." A remark addressed to a High-Anglican also will bear repeating: "You remind one of the bells which summon people to church; you ring, but you yourselves keep outside."

One biographer, Gattina, does not scruple to speak in detail of the young Mastai's life while at college, and furnishes a chapter so piquant that we fear the Pope more than once wished the writer of it in purgatory. Mastai was born in 1792. He became the subject of epileptic fits at the age of seventeen. Devout Romanists claim him to have been a pious youth, and this sudden visitation by disease an affliction of Heaven. Gattina, however, and others not of ultramontane disposition, attribute the affliction to a place where pseudo-angels of a lower order congregate. The severity of the disease abated after a time, and by some it is told that this relief came by the laying on of hands of Pope Pius VII. Romanists who would pay special homage to the Virgin Mary claim,

moreover, that it was not the Pope's blessing alone that wrought the miraculous cure, but a vision of the Madonna. It is doubtful, however, if that immaculate lady, with that supernatural power attributed to her, would have thought it respectable to visit him in the circumstances. But whatever the manner, the cure was wrought. After his recovery the formerly gay, accomplished, and coxcombial appearing young man—half soldier, half bourgeois, with a flower in his buttonhole and a pipe in his mouth, given over to adventures and love affairs—was suddenly transformed into a religious devotee. Mastai was ordained, and became a popular preacher. "No acrobat or prima donna was ever so successful at the famous fair at Sinigaglia, the Vanity Fair of the clerical aspirant. The women were enthusiastic. Marianne Simonelli had a tropical passion for the young Mastai. La Ferretti, a St. Thérése, *less* the mysticism, predicted for him, among other good things, the papacy." Gattina has probably made the most of all the extravagant talk that circulated in Mastai's youth. And he has forgotten to tell how all Rome was delighted with the remarkable displays of oratory and religious passion of the young priest Mastai, and how not only women, but strong-minded men too, became weak before him, so earnest was he in preaching the terrors of future penalty. He was particularly brilliant in his *fervorim*—short, impassioned discourses—such as one may hear at Rome during holy week at the *Gesu*. He even simulated purgatorial flames by plunging his hands in burning spirits.

A new era dawned on Mastai Ferretti in 1829. The priest then changed into a prelate. Spoleto needed an archbishop. The political agitation was great throughout Italy. The approach of the disturbances which crowded the year 1830 was manifest in a thousand ways. The ecclesiastics, in order to be all-powerful and sufficient for the struggle, needed more than ordinary experience. A policy of anxious, irritated, and at the same time irritating, repression had proved a failure. Mastai Ferretti was young enough to avoid falling into this error of his seniors, and as he had gained much political sagacity in his semi-politico-religious mission across the sea, he was selected for the vacant archiepiscopal chair. He quickly perceived that he must abandon the old receipts of the prison and the executioner, and by a wise rule he maintained perfect order in the midst of general disturbance. While all Italy was in arms, the little archbishopric of mountainous Spoleto remained peaceful. The only ripple on the surface was the sudden incursion of 5,000 insurgents, who came there to seek refuge from the

pursuing Austrians. He dealt so kindly and judiciously with them that he induced them to lay down their arms and submit to authority. And when the civil government of the city submitted to him the lists of these insurgents, he tossed them into the fire, instead of forwarding them to Rome.

How well the Pope appreciated Mastai is made apparent in his selection, a short time after, as apostolic nuncio to Naples; and he so ably discharged this mission that he was honored with the cardinalate by secret conclave in 1839, though he did not receive the purple robe until the year after. He was yet comparatively a young man. There were many far his seniors in the college of cardinals. Certainly no one dreamed that the bestowal of the red hat upon Mastai Ferretti was likely to bring him the tiara soon.

In 1846 Gregory XVI. died. The conclave which met was largely composed of men raised to their dignity by the deceased pope. There were only fifty of them, and many of these had never been present at a papal election. The choice lay virtually between Lambruschini, the representative of the old system, and Bianchi, a moderate liberal, who, it was hoped, would find a way of satisfying the national aspirations without encroaching on the domain of the Church. But *without* the conclave there was an enthusiastic faction called "Young Italy" resolved to have a liberal Pope, one who would espouse the Italian cause as a patriot and not as a mere ecclesiastical prince. They fastened upon Mastai Ferretti. He was known to them as a patriotic Italian. Had he not stood by the Revolutionists while at Spoleto? No one outside of the conclave imagined, when on the 14th of June it convened, that the person at whose simple mention the "holy" men were accustomed to cross themselves would be successful. The only help was in the popular enthusiasm, which ran so high that there was hope the *vox populi* might possibly be turned into the *vox Dei*. The mutilated Pasquin on the second morning gave forth this oracle:—

> If God elects we shall have Bianchi;
> If the people elect we shall have Ferretti;
> If the devil elects we shall have Lambruschini.

On the very first vote Lambruschini had received only fifteen votes and Mastai thirteen. On the afternoon of the 16th the fourth ballot was cast for Mastai thirty-six times—making, of the fifty-two who were present, more than the necessary two thirds—when the assembly rose as one man to confirm the choice by unanimous acclamation. Young Italy had conquered against all

the Jesuit machinations. But it was well that it was done so soon; for as Mastai—now Pius IX.—was bestowing his benediction (*Urbi et orbi*) from the balcony of St. Peter's, an Austrian cardinal drove into the Piazza, with smoking post-horses and a "veto" from Vienna.

A month after the liberal *regime* was ushered in with the proclamation of an amnesty. There was universal enthusiasm and a lively expectation of benefits to come.

His reforms were, in reality, of little value. The best of them—those devoid of any political significance—projects to regulate the finances, to reform the administration of justice, to introduce railways, to ameliorate the condition of the Campagna—brought about merely a temporary improvement. The political measures were equally short-lived in their results, and, besides, were a burlesque on liberalism. Thus in March, 1847, an edict of the press was published, with the intention of removing some of the restrictions under which it had labored till then; but strong hints were given as to the subjects which the Government would allow to be discussed, and a censorship remained established in full force. The same year witnessed the institution of the *Consulta*, under the presidency of Gizzi. This seemed like concession to popular demands, but the whole thing was a farce; the members were chosen by the Pope, and the functions of the council of the most limited nature. Its duty was to give an opinion when called upon, leaving it to the Pope to act upon the proffered advice or to do otherwise. In 1848 appeared the famous *statuto* creating a high council and a chamber of deputies—as the triumph of constitutionalism. But the chambers were forbidden to propose any law on ecclesiastical or mixed affairs, and every measure had to be submitted to the Pope in a *secret* consistory, with the absolute right of veto. It is, therefore, scarcely surprising that no one outside the principal States believed in the Pope's capabilities as a political reformer, or in his desire to see his reforms carried into effect.

Then comes the story of Pio Nono's extraordinary hegira to Gaeta, which was forced upon him by an exasperated and deluded people that had trusted in his professions of liberalism to learn only at last that the Church of Rome places her own interests first, last, and always.

When Italia finally gained her full liberty, in spite of all Jesuit machinations, Pio Nono is shut up within the walls of the Vatican, lest his love for Victor Emanuel should lead him to abandon his temporal crown; and in order that the world might not under-

stand the game, it is trumpeted about that a cruel Italian Government abandons its Pope and appropriates to itself the provisions of the Church of Rome! J. H. W.

Our South American Cousins. By WILLIAM TAYLOR, author of "Seven Years' Street Preaching in San Francisco," "Christian Adventures in South Africa," "Four Years' Campaign in India," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 318. New York: Nelson & Phillips. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1878.

This little volume is a charcoal sketch by our bold evangelist of an exploring tour made by him along the sea-coast cities of western South America. He left New York last October, finished his winter work, and re-appeared to Gotham in May. He went by steam to Aspinwall, crossed the Isthmus, and thence took steam for Callao, Peru. He extended his course by sea, stopping at the principal coast cities of Peru and Chili, which countries stretch their long length between the Andes and the ocean, forming the spine of our southern continent. He visited, among others, Lima, Copiapo, Coquimbo, and Valparaiso, not stopping until he had reached Concepcion, where Patagonia begins to form the continental tail. The object of our spontaneous and rapid evangelist was to plant Churches and ministers at all accessible spots on that line. He soon found, however, that though Churches and preachers were much desired, yet schools and teachers were more in demand, and he shaped his policy for both purposes, so as to furnish teachers who could also be preachers. At each important place he drew up a subscription pledging support for the proper man, by him to be sent, requiring it to be signed not by one or two munificent patrons in large sums, but by numbers in lesser sums, on the ground that even the small subscriber would feel that the concern in which he had invested was a concern in which he was interested. On his return he was able to report that in six months he had traveled eleven thousand miles, had opened twelve centers of educational and evangelizing work, to which he was ready to appoint eighteen earnest workers, twelve male and six female. He went to the Boston University, appointed Alexander P. Stowell his "recruiting sergeant," and soon filled his corps with material able in his estimation to stand fire, even if it be the fire of martyrdom. It is a cheering omen that he was so soon able to find the right sort of stuff in one of our schools of the prophets. After securing due authentication for his preachers from the authorities of our Church, he has returned to his providential field of labors, cheered thus far by success, and entertaining a full but not fanatical faith that it was the gracious Spirit that opened his

path and spread his programme before him. Brother Taylor is a man of heroic mold, to whose intuitive eye things often reveal aspects not patent to ordinary retinas, and for whom red tape must prove a little elastic. His intuitions may, perhaps, be sometimes too impulsive, but years of trial have proved how truly his whole being is consecrated to Christ, and how with his whole energy he presses forward to fulfill his task while the day lasts. He does not, like Paul, work at tent-making to earn his own livelihood that he may cheaply preach a priceless gospel, but *he writes books;* and whoso buys his book pays a little tribute to our evangelist at the same time that he learns to sympathize with his work.

That Boy: Who Shall Have Him? By Rev. W. H. Daniels, A. M., Author of "D. L. Moody and his Work," etc. 12mo., pp. 434. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1878.

The readers of the "National Repository" will recognize this as the serial story whose several parts have greeted them from month to month in the pages of that publication. The aim of the author, as avowed in the preface, is to show the effect of the peculiar doctrines of Calvin on warm, positive, passionate natures. The boy's mother, loving her dead husband and dead infant, hates, with all the strength of her desolate soul, the theological figment of a God who, she is told, would send them both to hell for the sin of Adam. Her hatred of this Calvinistic God is so strongly reproduced in her son that he resists for years his religious convictions, and yields only when he sees that the God of the Bible is not the embodiment of almighty self-will, as he has been represented, but a tender Father as well as a just Judge.

The story is told in strong language, and the characters are vividly drawn. We cannot help admiring the intense earnestness of the strong-willed mother, the gentle and helpful son, and the saintly elder, with his peaceful face and patriarchal halo of silver hairs. In the description of a "liberal" Church, with a Shakspearean club instead of a weekly prayer-meeting, and of the "Mons Sacer School," which is "a den of theological lions, with sharp teeth and savage claws," many a sharp blow is given by the author at the follies and weaknesses of human nature. But, while he shows himself so quick to discern, and so skillful to strike at, the errors of others, he seems to reveal one of his in the unmistakable vein of superstition which runs through one of his best characters, with no hint of his disapproval. Still, we commend the book as a good stirring story, well written, full of thought and provocation of thought.

Between the Gates. By BENJAMIN F. TAYLOR. Author of "Songs of Yesterday," "Old Time Pictures," "World on Wheels." "Camp and Field," etc. With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 292. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1878.

"Once upon a time," as the story-books say, the author of this book journeyed across the continent from Chicago to San Francisco. The usual route of tourists was followed, omitting Salt Lake and the Mormons. The author tells us of the plains, the mountains, San Francisco street scenes, the "hoodlums," the Chinese, with their opium, their grotesque theaters, and strange ways generally, the seals, the United States Mint, the Geysers, the petrified trees and Yosemite, Southern California, with its "city of Angels," its vineyards, orange groves, bee ranches, and old mission buildings, and then we suddenly find the author at home again, with no very clear idea of the way in which he got there.

These various places and things, with the incidents of the journey, are described in a style which defies description. As we attempt it, we think of a kaleidoscope, a poet with "his eyes in fine frenzy rolling," and a mild case of *delirium tremens*. The woods storm the mountains, the mountains stab the skies, the precipice swoons down to the plain, and all nature, usually called inanimate, canters up and down the scene in crazy ecstasy. The book is a hurricane of rhetorical wind, a meteoric shower of brilliant nothings, which will amuse, and perhaps please, any careless reader who has no Gradgrind curiosity in regard to facts.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Grundriss der biblischen Hermeneutik. (Outlines of the Science of Bible Interpretation.) Von Dr. J. P. LANGE. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

What Dr. Lange did in his encyclopedia for the whole of theology, he here does for a single branch. A single glance at the classification of the matter of the book suffices to show its wide scope and its thoroughness. After an "apology" for the science of interpretation, there follows a comprehensive introduction. This is followed by the general subject. Among the themes discussed are—the divine phase of the Bible, the human phase, and the theanthropic phase; the principles of interpretation, the historical development of these principles; interpretation according to the analogy of faith, also according to the analogy of Scripture; the idea of interpretation; the purpose of interpretation; the method of interpretation; the relative imperfection of all interpretation.

As a sample of the matter of this book, take what the author says on interpreting Scripture by Scripture: It results from the very idea of the Bible, that it is a self-interpreter, (*habet facultatem semetipsam interpretandi.*) Thus, each writer is to be interpreted by himself, by synonymous expressions, by related antitheses; then, by analogous or diverse expressions of other writers; Old Testament texts by New, and the converse; didactic passages by historical, and conversely; obscure passages, by the plain. Even as the whole vitality of the body comes to the help of a single member when endangered, so the whole body of Scripture is to be summoned in to rescue a single text, when in its isolation it refuses to reflect a harmonious sense. First of all, the exact literal sense of a passage must be reached; the exegete must beware of sermonizing his own thoughts into the text; he must simply reflect what he finds. In comparing sacred eloquence and poesy with profane, it must always be remembered that with the former the eloquence of form is merely secondary, whereas with the latter it is primary.

In regard to the present unsatisfactory state of exegetical science Dr. Lange makes liberal concessions. The Bible *must* be interpreted; and yet its interpreters are sometimes its worst enemies. Only too often they have obeyed the sarcastic advice of Goethe:—

"Im Auslegen, seid frisch und munter!
Legt ihr's nicht aus, so legt was unter."

A chief blunder of exegesis has ever been a too frequent using of literal texts as formal dogmas. In some cases it has also shown a deplorable desperateness in defending the literal historical actuality of certain narratives, (Balaam's ass, Joshua's still-standing sun, the story of Jonah, the bodily presence of Satan in the temptation of the wilderness,) from no better motive than that thus only could the official doctrine of inspiration be safeguarded. In the hands of some, the literal sense is made to deify the written letter; in the hands of others, it is made to sink this letter below the prosiest of human prose.

The whole drift of this brief, compact work of Dr. Lange is eminently healthy and evangelical. To him the Bible is a positive source of instruction. He invites the Church to go to it, not merely to confirm its preconvinced doctrines, nor merely to complement the teaching of its own intuitions, nor merely to find a feeble increment to the bright light of an ever-present inspiration of the Spirit, but as to the primary and fundamental and ever-during *chief source* of religious and ethical truth.

Die Anlage des Menschen zur Religion vom Gegenwärtigen Standpunkte der Völkerkunde aus betrachtet und untersucht. Von JULIUS HAPPEL. Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn.

This book, though not written by an author of long established reputation, is of great value, and is the fruit of much reflection. It treats of man's natural or innate capacity for religion, and of the light which modern scientific research has thrown upon the outward manifestations of this capacity, under the various forms of civilization, past and present. The work falls into five chapters. The doctrinal position of the author is the mild orthodoxy of Rothe. The method of the work is, to state the several positions insisted on, and then to illustrate and prove them by historical and scientific facts brought together from a wide range of the best modern authorities. In the course of the work the whole field of mythology, history, psychology, and the philosophy of religion is laid under contribution. The first chapter (pp. 110) treats of the actuality of man's innate endowment for religion. The second (pp. 71) considers the various objects toward which this capacity has developed itself: God, the world, the heavenly orbs, the forces of nature, the creations of our fears or passions, plants, animals, mere symbols, fetiches, etc. The third (pp. 76) discusses the quality of the religious life to which man's innate capacity has given rise, specifying these four stages: the sensuous, the materialized, the moral, the normal religious. The fourth (pp. 67) gives a sound statement of the relation of religion to morality, holding essentially the ground of Wuttke in his "Christian Ethics," namely, that true morality is not possible without religion, and that the two are but different phases of the same thing. The last chapter (pp. 66) depicts the circle of evolution through which man's tendency to religion usually manifests itself, and shows clearly man's need of being helped by a formal objective revelation. The subject-matter with which these chapters are filled out is well worth the attention of all true students of anthropology and religion. Its study would result in a much more intelligent view of the non-Christian religions than only too generally prevails. It comes as near to furnishing a satisfactory "philosophy of idolatry" as any work within our knowledge. It is, of course, quite easy and simple to say, "The heathen worship stocks and stones;" but the way in which this is usually understood is about as shallow as it is simple. The fact is, there lies at the basis of even the lowest paganism an immense gulf of dark mystery and of dread seriousness. And any true comprehension of the subject will awaken deep compassion,

rather than self-complacent contempt, for the deluded victims. We therefore commend the work of Pastor Happel. It is popular and easy in style, and is elegantly printed in Latin type.

Die Beziehungen der Ueberordnung, Nebenordnung und Unterordnung Zwischen Kirche und Staat. (The Relations of Church and State.) Von Dr. W. MARTENS. Stuttgart: Cotta.

Dr. Martens endeavors to discuss his delicate theme in an objective and unpartisan manner. And his book will be helpful to the champions of either of the variant views on the general subject. He passes in review and criticises each of these four views: 1. The *hierocratic* system; 2. the *State Church* system; 3. the *protectorate* system; 4. the purely *secular* system. In the first, the State and Church are identified; all civil law has religious sanction, and is but the application of religion to life. In the second, the Church is a mere creature of the State, and has no real autonomy or dignity. In the third, the State is of general Christian character, recognizing the fundamentals of religion, and extending to a plurality of Churches an equal *patronage*. In the fourth, the State confines itself to protecting the material interests of its subjects, and permits the religious consciousness to manifest itself in whatever manner it will, guarding each from the objective encroachments of the others. The second and the third views the author opposes. And he rightly insists that the hierocratic and the secular systems are the only ones that are self-consistent. But, strangely enough, he does not decide positively for either of these two as against the others, but argues for some sort of commingling of both. It is but another instance of the correct theorizing but blundering practice of the average old-world scholar. Happily for us, these scholarly bewilderments from across the seas serve greatly to confirm our faith in the wisdom of the State system devised for us by our fathers. For see: Are not we a Christian people? Yes; by the great majority. Ought not our laws to be Christian laws? Yes; they ought to harmonize with Christian truth. How are we to become a more thoroughly Christian nation? Let the Churches imbue the people with vital religion. Ought we not to incorporate some degree of Christian dogmas into our National Constitution? This could do to religion no good, and it might do to it much harm. It would point toward the blunder which Constantine committed. And it would tempt the Church to *lean upon the State*. A great misfortune! Religion prospers most when it is *let alone*, and when it leans upon nothing but God and itself.

Miscellaneous.

Probate Confiscation. By Mrs. J. W. Stow, Author and Lecturer. Third edition, revised and enlarged. 12mo., pp. 400. Printed and sold by the Author. 1878.

It seems that Mr. J. W. Stow was a business gentleman in San Francisco, highly esteemed in community, and of large estate. While his wife was traveling in Europe he died, and, although an affectionate husband, appointed executors without placing his wife as one among them. The Probate Court took the estate in hand with great efficiency. On her return she found the entire property in the hands of a large body of appropriators, such as executors, court lawyers, and other legal functionaries, who in due time divided it legally and artistically among themselves. The law took the entire oyster, and left her we cannot say how much of a shell. The agony of this injustice seems to have quickened her blood, and she writes with no little talent, and a decidedly fiery pen. Her book is lively reading. She proposes, practically, a scheme of law which shall herein right the wrongs of widows. To her Memorial to the Massachusetts Legislature are affixed the names of Charles Francis Adams, Marshall P. Wilder, L. Maria Child, R. W. Emerson, W. Lloyd Garrison, Henry W. Longfellow, and other gentlemen of high standing.

It is passing strange that oppressive laws should still rest upon the weaker half of our race. Strange that they should be incorporated into a new code, as in California. Strange, also, that old enlightened Massachusetts should retain them for a moment after the case is fully presented, sustained with fair argument and illustrious names. It does so happen that of every man the mother, the sister, the wife, is a woman; and the right-hearted man feels a wrong done to said woman more acutely than a wrong done to himself. And yet it is upon mothers, sisters, wives, that these wrongs are by men inflicted. Yet law may be, and perhaps sometimes is, as hard upon husband as upon wife.

The Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice. By Alfred Cave, B.A. 8vo., pp. 524. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1877.

Lectures on Mediæval Church History. By Richard Chenevix Trench, D.D. 8vo., pp. 444. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1878.

St. John's Gospel Described and Explained According to its Peculiar Character. By Christoph Ernst Luthardt. Translated by Caspar René Gregory. Vol. III. 8vo., pp. 390. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1878.

History of the Reformation in Europe in the time of Calvin. By Rev. J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, D.D. Translated by William L. R. Cates. Vol. VIII. Large 12mo., pp. 464. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

The Epistle to the Hebrews. With Notes. By Rev. HENRY COWLES, D.D. Large 12mo., pp. 244. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.

Predestination and Freewill and the Westminster Confession of Faith. With Explanation of Romans ix, and Appendix of Christ's Preaching to "The Spirits in Prison." By JOHN FORBES, D.D., LL.D. 8vo., pp. 116. Edinburgh. T. & T. Clark. 1878.

Home Lessons on the Old Paths; or, Conversations on the Shorter Catechism. By M. T. S. 12mo., pp. 400. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1879.

The Expositor. July and August, 1878. Edited by Rev SAMUEL COX. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Spring Conferences of 1878. 8vo., pp. 179. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Tent Work in Palestine. By CLAUDE REIGNIER CONDER, R.E. In two vols. 8vo. Vol. I., pp. 381; Vol. II., pp. 352. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878.

Through the Dark Continent, etc. By HENRY M. STANLEY. Two vols. 8vo. Vol. I., pp. 522. Vol. II., pp. 566. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

The Voyage of the "Challenger." The Atlantic. By Sir C. WYVILLE THOMPSON. In two vols. 8vo. Vol. I., pp. 391; Vol. II., pp. 340. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

The Students' French Grammar. By CHARLES HERON WALL. Large 12mo., pp. 458. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

Science for the School and Family. Part I., Natural Philosophy. By WORTHINGTON HOOKER, M.D. Large 12mo., pp. 433. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

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FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY: *Kingsdene.* By Hon. Mrs. FETHERSTONHAUGH.—*Twenty Years' Residence Among the People of Turkey.* By a Consul's Daughter and Wife.—*The Russians of To-day.* By the Author of "The Member for Paris," etc.—*Paul Knox, Pitman.* By JOHN BERWICK HARWOOD.—*Henriette.* Fragments from the Diary of the Marquis de Boisguerny. By ERNEST DAUDET.—*Christine Brownlee's Ordeal.* By MARY PATRICK.—*The Young Duke.* By BENJAMIN DISRAELI. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

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Kilrogan Cottage. A Novel. By MATILDA DESPARD. 8vo., pp. 143. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878.

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